

## MASTER'S THESIS

# The Impact of the South African Elite Print Media discourse on migration as a functional entity for the social construction of fear

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### Abstract

While news coverage on the negative impacts of migration in South Africa's elite print media is widespread visible and accepted in common public argumentations, the included mechanisms and implications of such rhetoric remain invisible. This invisibility is a consequence of normalization processes, causing certain viewpoints and argumentations to appear as emotional free and purely facts. Feminist theory states the social construction of emotions, with no emotion being free from social influence and no presentation of information being free from emotions. Applied to content production in the media, these phenomena are part of current journalistic praxis, defined as War Journalism by defenders of Peace Journalism. This research does not only seek to uncover how migrants are depicted, but also what can be stated on South Africa's conditions on identity and state formation. The results reveal a fear loaded discourse leading to anxiety in South Africa's society, preparing the ground for securitization and the application of expanded control through state and military forces.

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## **Abbreviations**

ANC African National Congress

ASGISA Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative-South Africa

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

PJ Peace Journalism

SA South Africa

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“[Y]ou broke the ocean in half to be here. [O]nly to meet nothing that wants you. – immigrant”

—Nayyirah

Waheeda

**Human Migration**, in the year 2018, and in

continuation of several decades, is one of the most discussed and

seemingly threatening topics in societies' discourses. Migration, in all its forms and expressions is an inherent part of humanity, unless often considered as a new phenomenon. Although, global changes and conceptual redefinitions cause continuous transformations on the perception of the act itself, as well as on the one performing it – the migrants. It is they who consider their options, unite their faith, and plan their journey in spite of possible dangers and struggles towards another future. This future often turns out to be what Nayyirah Waheed describes in her poem. Thus, the ones who arrive at their voluntary or involuntary chosen new destination frequently face racism, xenophobia or at least suspicion towards their impact on the nation-state.

## INTRODUCTION

South Africa (SA) is struggling in repetitive periods with what has been defined as xenophobic violence, perpetrated by local population on foremost migrants/expatriates from other African countries. [Expatriate: A person who lives outside their native country (Oxford Living

Dictionaries, 2018, online); I will use the word expatriate instead of migrant/immigrant, as it carries more neutral/positive connotations]. The reasons of this conflict root in various historical and current causes and lead to a very complex situation. From a constructivist viewpoint, social and political action stays in connection with norms and values, altogether embedded in a reciprocally continuous conversation with the various layers of the discourse. Another important actor in this communication is the media as the channels of communication themselves. Although it is not possible to precisely define the direct impact of the media's presentation about a certain topic, on the outcome of events and connected opinions, constructivism and discourse nevertheless suggest dialogical impact. In accordance to this approach, this research seeks to conduct a qualitative discourse analysis on South Africa's media discourse on the basis of the assumption that the media discourse is part of the discourse on migration with mutual influence. In particular, the analysis seeks to uncover the representation of migrants in several SA quality/elite print media within the coverage on violent confrontations in the township Spaza shop milieu, primarily labelled as xenophobic attacks on foreign shop owners. Thus, the following research question guides the analysis:

## **I Research question**

How does elite SA newspaper journalism portray migrants within the context of the as xenophobic-labelled clashes in the Spaza shop milieu, how are the respective frames related to SA's historical and current socio-political implications of nationhood and citizenship and to what extend a discursive tendency of fear towards migration notable?

A frame- based discourse analysis of SA's dominant newspaper articles, published in the year 2015

Previous research conducted on the topic of xenophobia has stated that South African society in general, as well as the country's media coverage connects migrants, and in particular those coming

from other African states to various forms of threat towards the SA state and its citizens. Thus, they are seen as risk factors, jeopardizing SA's wealth and already scarce resources as well as the state's inner security and peace. Within the already mentioned analytical framework of social constructivism and the social construction of fear in particular, the three factors: wealth, security and peace represent entities, which are, in these contexts, ideologically attributed to connotations of fear. Furthermore, the same possible perceptive effect is intensified by a merely sensational or at least sufficient depth and context lacking coverage.

In order to question to which ideas and power structures this way of coverage consciously or unconsciously adds, or, in other words, to which ideological mechanisms voluntary or involuntary these discursive representation comply, the analysis draws connection to the following theoretical ideas: Firstly, there is a necessity within the South African state for an intensification of its inner unification (state formation and securitization theory), which is a particular challenging task due to its history. Secondly, the same logic bears the desire of South African citizens to protect their citizenship and its respective special rights and privileges (theories of social privilege), which also has particular historical implications.

## **II Objectives, relevance, limitations and personal motivation**

Taking this into consideration, the analysis of immigrants' portrayal in the media, does not seek to, nor is able to detect the actual reasons of the xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, it cannot detect whether the violence is singularly driven by xenophobia. Instead, it aims to reveal the specific forms of representation and the way in which the violence is described in its circumstances. Consequently, the analysis will give insight on the discursive patterns, which are possibly influencing, reaffirming (or challenging) the common narrative on migration in South Africa on the one hand, as well as on South Africa's self-assessment of its xenophobic precondition on the other

hand. Additionally, it can be claimed that this common narrative is part of the normalization process which in turn also creates the platform for social, as well as racial divisions and the labelling of what is not normal. This further builds the basis for xenophobic sentiments. Simultaneously, the common narrative seems to be emotionally free. Reasons for that lie in the mechanisms of recitations and unquestioned reproductions, which characterize long term normalization processes. This leads to questions on the current state of journalistic praxis and its ethical values, such as objectivity and the legitimization of sources. Finally, it can be stated, that a media discourse which contains, represents, and therefore reaffirms stereotypical and fear-loaded ideas on migration and its consequences, stands in opposition to the idea of Peace Journalism (PJ). By incorporating the ideas of Peace Journalism as a normative concept of oppositional reference to classical modern Journalism, the following work places itself in the field of peace-studies and its philosophies on peaceful transformations of conflicts. My personal motivation on this topic is based on the experience of being confronted to justify myself in not seeing migration as a threat, while arguments rejecting it are valued as as objective and almost natural law. The desire to support an existing project with a wider-reaching impact, pushed me to apply with the Scalabrini Institute on Human Mobility in Africa, in order to join their research team. The challenge to get familiar with a new context – the one of South Africa, not only pleased my personal aspirations, but as well offers me insights on the differentiated or parallel and almost universal mechanism our globe is experiencing at this moment. The growth of xenophobic and anti-migration movements, which find including legal ground to pursue their agendas in Europe as elsewhere, represent a worrying issue, which to understand I seek. As a constructivist I believe, that we as humans are capable to constantly redefine our reality and by imagining new concepts, we are able to shape our reality and the way we live together.

### **III Structure/chapter review and theoretical framework**

*Chapter I.1* starts with the theory on the social construction of fear in Western-neoliberal ideology and its defining influences on society's values and actions. Thus, it draws conclusions from the separation of ratio and emotion as a consequence of enlightenment to current perceptions of emotional free observation and socially unconditioned emotions. By this, it seeks to deconstruct the myth of dispassionate discourse, which is considered to be a restriction to productive discussions on relevant issues and therefore to societies transformation in general. As a feminist theory it aims to detect power structures and mechanisms of exclusion and discrimination.

Taking these concepts as a basic structure, it applies them to the topics of state formation, citizenship, and migration and how socially constructed fear operates within and throughout them. It explains how the definitions of citizenship and its fearful protection represents a conflictive source to the universality of human rights. In this way the nation-state's inherent concepts of welfare and secure economy provision to its citizens produce migration as either economic threat or usefulness and thus reduces the expatriate to what is defined *Homo Economicus* [my emphasis]. Finally, ethno-political identities in general in combination with the racialization of migration built the general framework for the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion

As preparation for the following analysis, it provides the transference to the South African context, suggesting an environment of inclusive identities and exclusive policies. Particularly, it tackles how defined and perceived illegality of migration leads to a general criminalization of the expatriates lives. In line with the considerations on economy and migration in *chapter 2*, we will see similar patterns of an ethnicized political economy.

*Chapter II.2* establishes Peace Journalism (PJ) as a normative concept within the framework of Johan Galtungs Peace Philosophy. Incorporating existing ethical consideration on the production of

information and content and criticizing concepts of rationality, it aims develop inclusive paradigms and practical tools towards the creation of a journalism which decides on actively support peaceful transformation processes of social conflicts. Based on previously done research, it finally it transfers PJ as opposition to War Journalism to not only hot, but also cold conflicts.

In order to gain further familiarity on journalism in the SA context, it explains media production in post-apartheid between journalistic self-understanding, socio-political expectations and economic paradigms. Supported by previously done research on depictions of migration in SA media, the migration discourse is placed within general notions of xenophobia. Finally, it explores who the condemnation of xenophobia alongside the criminalization of migrants by the elite media represents a coupled mechanism of privilege.

*Chapter II.1-II.3* guides through the conceptualized analysis, while *Chapter III* synthesizes it by placing it into theoretical considerations and other research. *The Chapter Conclusions* sums up and mentions ideas for further research.

## **IV Methodology**

### **1. Social constructivism and discourse theory**

The mode of conduction for this investigation is based on the premises of a critical discourse analysis. As a scientific approach that works integrative, the theory of discourse methodologically unifies linguistic and hermeneutic ideas with social and political theories (Horwarth & Torfing 2005, 1). Therefore, it belongs to the canon of qualitative social research that tries to combine hermeneutics with interactional pragmatic and several other interpretative measurements (Diaz-Bohne 2009, 62). Michael Foucault defines the structures and mechanisms between power relations and knowledge/information production in their interactive performance as discursive practice. The discourse depends on the participating actors at a specific time and place, whereas it simultaneously

shapes and influences the actors' constellation and possible action. Thus, discourse incorporates power and knowledge, and reciprocally defines positions and possible scopes of action (Dillon 1995, 324). Language also represents a form of social practice and is therefore part of discursive action. It both reproduces and transforms perceived reality. As discourse is an expression of current distributions of power, its analysis allows the disclosure of ideologies, opinions, the different levels of power and respective relationships between all involved actors (Horwarth & Torfing 2005, 7). In other words, discourse and actors together form a system where both reflect each other in a way of all actors having input on the discourse but equally being influenced by it. The leading discourse builds the frame for collective intellectual, social, and moral action as well as a platform for the construction of meanings and identities (Dillon 1995, 324). With changing actors taking part in the discourse, the discourse will continuously change as well. Through any discourse, specific current outlines, different opinions, values and norms, are pushed forward and define who inhabits the role of dominating them. The principles of action derive from this discourse receive normative value (Risse 2000, 4). Thus, the discourse acts as a frame, consisting of socially shared ideas, as well as norms that guide action and common knowledge about interdependences and therefore influences the shaping of identities. Consequently, actions are always dependent on the social environment and its commonly shared frame of reference, which is formed, reproduced, transformed and delivered in daily practice (Risse 2000, 5). By applying the idea of discursive practice on the analysis of texts, it is possible to analyze several dimensions. Linguistic characteristics and the structure of a certain text form the first dimension. Equally, the choice of vocabulary, the use of certain grammatical devices and metaphors as well as special conjunctions and the lines of argumentation belong to this category. The second dimension compounds the discursive practice of production, circulation, distribution and consumption of texts and information. The third dimension takes the analysis to a



higher level where discursive processes are interpreted. By examine connections between texts, their included representations and contexts, social constructions, and their changing expressions can be measured (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000, 448 f.). Attributable to the limitation of space, this work concentrates on the choice of vocabulary and metaphors, the selection and representation of actors, and finally the mechanisms of reference and connotations according to agenda setting and framing.

## **2. Agenda Setting and Framing**

The publication of a specific incident in the media is result of a process defined by the struggle over gaining dominant position within all other current information. If information is able - due to involved actors and its thematic placement - to influence certain parameters of meaning in society, it becomes part of the agenda and simultaneously has impact on it (Birkland 1995, 53). The agenda is the hierarchical order of incidents and topics at a certain point in time and therefore subject to continuous change. Analyzing the processes of agenda setting allows the detection of power relations, as well as the limits and possibilities of discursive transformations and social changes (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 2). Along with other factors, the setting of a topic can place influence on the realization of certain political actions or at least represents a contributing factor to their underlying mindset (Birkland 1995, 53). The processing of information undergoes certain mechanisms, described by the framing approach. Its units, so called frames are patterns of meaning, which take part in all processes of organization and interpretation of any received information (Dahinden 2006, 16 -20). By doing so, they manage the distribution of all received impressions into categories and orders of relevance (Dahinden 2006, 14f.). Therefore, frames are part of meta-communication. Everything experienced thereby receives conjunctions to known features. The resulting lines of conformity support the percipient in its pre-existing opinions or ways of thinking (Dahinden 2006, 29). Framing is an important component in the construction, reaffirmation or

transformation of concepts. The framing process is a long-term development (Dahinden 2006, 32f.). In the context of journalism, frames influence the selection of incoming information and the direction of the audience's attention. They contribute to the evaluation of content when adding connotations through the conformity of existing frames. Frames are independent from single topics, but stay in dependency to the actual discourse. They mainly do not determine what is to be thought, but what should be thought about. Certain topics are pushed forward, positions and opinions are discussed and topics are linked to superior values and norms. When reaching the top of the agenda, where they meet existing interpretations of reality, already part of the actual discourse, a certain demand is more likely to be heard, supported, and implemented (Fiss & Hirsch 2005, 30).

### 3. Sample

The entire corpus of texts are drawn from 19 South African print media, provided and preselected by the research team at SIMA, Scalabrini Institute for human mobility in Africa, who already conducted a quantitative analysis on the material (SIMA 2017, 12): *Business Day*, *Sowetan*, *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *Daily Dispatch* and *The Herald* belong to the *Times Media Group*. *Independent News Media* is the owner of *Cape Times*, *The Mercury*, *The Star*, *Sunday Tribune*, *Sunday Independent*, *Cape Argus*, *Pretoria News*, *The Independent on Saturday*, *Post*. *Only Mail & Gaurdian*, to 87.5 % ruled by Zimbabwean entrepreneur Trevor Ncube's company, Newtrust Company Botswana Limited and *The New Age*, which is owned by TNA Media, a company with close ties to the ruling African National Congress (ANC) are independent from 2 cartel building Groups (Brand South Africa online 2013, September 12).

My research relies on the previously completed work using the same data base and pre-selection according to the thematic field. A further selection of the articles followed the premise that they have to deal with migration in South Africa in combination with the so called xenophobic violence.

Limitations on the research in general appear due to the possible online access of the material. Thus, the analysis is not able to cover tabloid media, which is especially popular among those who compete in the Spaza shop business, as well among those who rely on their offer in the South African townships and therefore the ones involved in the violent (xenophobic) attacks. Hence the definition of elite SA newspaper journalism, as the selected publications are mainly written by and for SA's elite.

The thematic selection, done by the SIMA research team is based on a keyword filter including the following words and phrases related to immigration:

Refugees, asylum, asylum-seeker(s), immigration, migrant(s), illegal(s), foreign, refugee, foreigner, migrant, immigrant, xenophobia, asylum (SIMA 2017, 16, 17)

The month June 2015 marks the time frame to the discursive segment of interest, leading to a corpus of 172 articles.

The unit of analysis is represented by the entity of one newspaper article. Within one article, the analytical strategy seeks to identify structural and contextual discourse units in order to reveal comparable tendencies.

#### **4. Research design**

The analysis is meant to follow both deductive and inductive premises. The presented theoretical background and the already developed quantitative analysis on the same material serves as basis for hypothetical estimations on the portrayal of the expatriates and a possible assignment to pre-existing frames. Nevertheless, the analytical framework is subject to the actual text and must therefore be open to induction. Observations made in the text therefore will show new or additional patterns, which then might lead to attributions to the theoretical framework, building the base for

reciprocal confirmation within the material.

Considering text as representation beyond the simple combination of information, a text's analysis in its representative functions reveals either features of the groups and/or features of the situations investigated. Regarding the analysis of this work, the groups studied are represented by the portrayed expatriates as the objects of the presented discourse and the information producers within their discursive surroundings as the subjects of the discourse. The general premises of discourse suggest the mutual position of social actors shaping and being shaped by the discourse. It says that the media and the journalists' work is also influenced by the discourse, in which the migrants inhabit a constituting role. Nevertheless, the defining outlines of this particular part of the overall discourse show a discrepancy between both actors, in the sense, that those who report are not the ones portrayed and neither those affected directly by the consequences of the influenced discourse.

Possible sub- inquiries to the main research question may include:

- Which specific topics are selected within the overall theme of migration and the so called xenophobic violence?
- Who is depicted in which form and representation?
- Which frames are presented and how are they interconnected?
- What is put in the present, what in the background?
- Where is emphasis placed, thus, importance and urgency?
- What/who/who's voice is represented?
- What context/ reason-consequence structure is presented?
- Which importance is given and thus sense of overall social/political responsibility towards topic associated through distance or involvement?
- What does the collected information tell about the overall discourse regarding migrants in South Africa?

## **A Context**

Apart from the linguistic/grammatical context, which will due to space limit not analyzed, researchers determine situational and cultural contexts. The former “refers to the environment, time and place, in which the discourse occurs, and also the relationship between the participants” (Song 2010, 877). Subsequent to the situational context are field, tenor and mode. Field is the situation, in which a text has occurred. Tenor defines the social relationship produced in or by the discourse. “The notion of tenor, therefore, highlights the way in which linguistic choices are affected not just by the topic or subject of communication but also by the kind of social relationship within which communication is taking place” (Song 2010, 877). Mode is the way how the presentation of the content is shown in the medium of transmission. The cultural context represents the culture, customs and background of the epoch in which the text is produced. This includes the norms and rules of the social - and value-system. Here, social roles in their common acceptance come into place and communication reveals relations of power and status (Song 2010, 876f.). Presented or missed context shows to which extend the producer of media texts is interested in giving extensive information on the subject. Additionally, (re)- contextualization indicates transfer and transformation of content and therefore discursive placement, whether performed deliberately or unconsciously. Contextualization means to provide with same discursive element, through de-contextualization an element is pulled out of its context and re-contextualization transfers an element into a new context (Wodak & Meyer 2009, 90).

## **B Actors**

The participating social actors (migrants, South African citizens and authorities) can be analyzed regarding various categories. After determining who is absent or present, thus important or denied, the characterizing level of the actor itself, is concerned about Naming, Functionalization,

Aggregation and Positioning. Thus, the analysis may include if actors are fused into certain groups and if certain descriptions and replacing names are attributed to them. Thus, the analysis can reveal membership categorization, attributed by profession/status/circumstances. In terms of their position in society we may observe if actors appear simply in their integrity as human beings or in their voluntary or involuntary functions/miss-functions in society. Furthermore, positioning as well includes the opposing of categories us/them, normal/abnormal, integrated/foreign or legit/illegal, leading to in - and out-groups. Finally, social actors are labelled negatively or positively through stereotypes. On a second level, it is the actions assigned to an actor, which offers insight on the actor's appearance. Which are/or are not these actions and what is their quality? How are actions associate? Which actions are omitted and which exaggerated? Additionally, it is concerned about the presented agency and autonomy or dependency and victimization. Finally, it is possible to further examine the deductive or inductive argumentative strategies, which conclude in negative perceptions. This refers for instance to either indirect/implicit or direct/explicit mechanisms as blaming the victim, problematizing, abnormalization and criminalization and thus delegitimizing, leading to justification of the in-groups positions and actions (KhosraviNik 2010, 59ff).

### **C Frames**

As already mentioned, research has shown that expatriates in the South African context are considered as a threat to wealth and recourses, thus as economic competition (business ownership, employee status). Additionally, they are seen as a challenge to state capacity needed to regulate their legal and economic statuses, to reorganize limited space in informal settlements and finally as competitors for limited official entitlements, which are demanded to be reserved for citizens. The second frame depicts them as jeopardizing security and peace of the country. Involved in crime or simply representing illegality, migrants are seen as a source of demoralization and uncertainty.

Additionally, they are seen as a root for violence, either performed by themselves or triggered in other social groups who feel the need to defend their ideological and actual territory, going against the state's capacity needed to protect its citizens and assure peace within the South African borders. The analysis seeks to prove these frames in the material, as well as to identify and draw connections to other existing frames.

## **D Metaphors**

Analyzing metaphors represents an important tool to uncover discursive meaning. Metaphors, words or groups of words are not just exchanged at the same textual level, they also lead to further connotations. Metaphors incorporate several dimensions and thus represent a body, capable to transfer entire structures of combined meanings between texts, as well in time and place. Through a collective cognitive process, the metaphor becomes more than a simple image, as it evolves to a standing metaphor. It presupposes that the human mind is limited to a certain capacity of understanding, which is subject to its actual experiences. When it comes to a confrontation with something exterior to its own experience, the human mind draws connections to its perceived and already known reality. By doing this, the human mind is able to attach a meaning to the abstract. When metaphors leave the individuals sphere and become part of the common language, they transform to conventional meaning. As a result, their connotations lie invisible under the surface, at the same time embodying discursive meanings and their enclosed emotions. Furthermore, metaphors build connections between different discourses, whether parallel or following, by forming links between their texts. Of course, their connotations can change over time but more importantly, the abstract becomes comparable to the usual and receives the interpretation as something normal, not to be questioned. If a certain meaning is accepted in society, further discussion seems to be no necessary. At the same time, the metaphor offers a frame of meanings and thus provides a flexible

space for action. The interpretations of a metaphor build the limits of this space (Huelse 2003, 217-224). Metaphors in this context can, for instance, give information on the embedded discourses in local-historical and global frameworks on migration.

In order to assign text of analysis to corresponding frames, actors and metaphors, marking colours are used:

Illegality/ criminality, securitization, victimization, economy, South Africa's elite actors, migrants, different/peaceful concepts, violence/xenophobia



## **I THEORY**

### **CHAPTER I.1 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF FEAR IN WESTERN-NEOLIBERAL IDEOLOGY – THE CONDITIONING OF SOCIETY'S VALUES AND ACTIONS**

#### **I.1.0 Introduction**

Migration in all its forms and expressions is part of humanity. It touches several highly sensitive topics, such as national identity, cultural integrity, security, and economic stability. The conglomeration of these themes stands in opposition to human rights, solidarity, transculturality and cooperation. Argumentatively, the former seem to win the discursive struggle. This predominant position nevertheless is questionable. In the process of questioning it, it is vital to discover the connecting phenomena driving these concepts in their powerful force to unify continent, state or regional citizens against an infiltrating, invading, flooding or even bursting - just to mention a few discursive expressions - mass of people one has to be at least suspicious of. Incommodity and suspicion are usually only the starting point, quickly evolving into a deeper rooted grasping and extending fear. The latter has the power to exaggerate into panic, which further bears the potential to culminate in xenophobic and racist violence. This thesis argues that out of any possible emotional answer to migration, a reaction of fear has manifested into a seemingly naturalized single option. Western Epistemology separates emotion from ratio. By doing so, Western discourses deny the socially constructed channeling of emotions as furtherance of a variety of sensational reactions and feelings, which in its function expresses an instrumental force for the preservation of power and what is adequate in feeling and acting. The article transfers it to migration, identity and its

representation in elite media, arguing for similar pattern and processes.

### **I.1.1 The separation of ratio and emotion as cultural product of the enlightenment – deconstructing the idea of emotional-free observation and socially unconditioned emotions**

The positivist idea of reason as the “mental, the cultural, the universal, the public and the male” is contrasted with emotion as the “irrational, the physical, the natural, the particular, the private and the female”, whereas the female stands at a similar level as the “social, cultural or ethnical inferior” (Jaggar 1989, 151). Logic therefore needs to be uncontaminated of attitudes in order to bear objective and universal conclusions (Jaggar 2010, 152). In line with this argumentation, sense perception is seen as “raw data collection” which therefore requires “cognitive interpretations” in order to establish legitimate theories (Jaggar 2010, 154). In positivist accounts, valid theories are based on facts and facts ideally do not contain emotional values. What influences whether we react either in the one or the other way? If two or more possible reactions exist, there might be a moment of choice, which requires a decision and a decision-maker. This in turn questions the so-called involuntary nature of emotions. It rejects the viewpoint of emotions being simply and exclusively “presocial, instinctive responses, determined by our biological constitution” (Jaggar 2010, 156). These alternative theories suggest that emotional reactions carry a cognitive notion, such as intentional judgments. Following this concept, emotions are not only defined by their quality or character, but also by the reason presupposing them and the connotation accompanying them (Jaggar 2010, 155).

If the quality and character of emotions differ historically and between cultures, emotions must partly be socially constructed. Thus, they contain a guidance to what and how we respond emotionally. Growing up we learn what is due to our surroundings appropriate in terms of emotional

behavior (Jaggar 2010, 157). Transcultural similarities may exist, as well as spontaneous feelings and their physical expressions, but the partnership of emotions, attitudes and intentions indicate more profoundly that societies form culturally divergent emotional procedures to channel feelings (Jaggar 2010, 157). “Any distinctively human emotion could be experienced by a solitary individual in some hypothetical pre-social state of nature. There is a sense in which any individual's guilt or anger, joy or triumph, presupposes the existence of a social group capable of feeling guilt, anger, joy, or triumph. This is not to say that group emotions historically precede or are logically prior to the emotions of individuals; it is to say that individual experience is simultaneously social experience” (Jaggar 2010, 185). Individuals as social agents navigate their emotions in their interactions. Thus, Jaggar defines emotions also as active engagements (Jaggar 2010, 158). Firstly, in certain moments, we try to control them “from mechanistic behavior-modification techniques designed to sensitize or desensitize our feeling responses [...] to various cognitive techniques designed” to manage personal and social life. It can be advanced to a level where we use emotions to “claim or disclaim responsibility” (Jaggar 2010, 158). Even though the performances seem and feel natural and even almost unconsciously, we integrate emotions in our actions in a strategic way (Jaggar 2010, 158). Interestingly, the more our emotional responses appear deliberate and natural but at the same time according to our social expectations, the more they serve to justify our own actions to ourselves and towards others (Jaggar 2010, 159).

The expression of emotions is not only embedded in the common social order but also reciprocally conversating with language (Jaggar 2010, 159). Language represents the bridge between society and its discourse and if the link between emotion and language exists, emotions do exist in the discourse and the opinions and values it produces. Jaggar approaches emotivism by explaining: “Emotions and values are closely related. [...]. Values presuppose emotions to the extent that emotions provide the

experimental basis for values. If we had no emotional responses to the world, it is inconceivable that we should ever come to value one state of affairs more highly than another” (Jaggar 2010, 159). In the same way emotions presuppose values. Emotions about a certain outcome signifies that the outcome also matches what one considers a valuable one (Jaggar 2010, 159). It does not mean that this consideration is universal but it is more likely that it matches broader common social sense. One will even question oneself if one's own emotional responses and values stand in opposition to the discourse. Appearing irrational or even pathological to oneself or others is one of the possible results (Jaggar 2010, 160). Looking closer at the word irrational, which means against the ratio, helps us to understand why we consider socially accepted values as emotionally free.

### **I.1.2 The myth of dispassionate discourse – a restriction to productive discussion and social transformation**

Observation is part of the value formation process, as well as our emotional responses “depend essentially on the ways that we perceive (certain) events and situations [...]. Just as observation directs, shapes, and even partially defines emotion, so too emotion directs, shapes, and even partially defines observation” (Jaggar 2010, 160). “The filtering and framing of observed impressions and stimuli involves human engagement in form of selection and interpretation and is therefore not entirely passive” (Jaggar 2010, 160). Jaggar's philosophical approach demonstrates the triangle between observation, emotions and attitudes, which are connected by multidirectional and mutually reaching arrows. She stresses that the “derogatory Western attitude towards emotion [...] fails to recognize that emotion, like sensory observation is necessary to human survival. Moreover, emotions have an intrinsic as well as an instrumental value” (Jaggar 2010, 161). Western culture expecting us to suppress emotions in the scientific knowledge leads to a myth of dispassionate investigation. I argue that in the same way, it creates a myth of dispassionate fact production in our

public and political discourses. This myth covers a discursive reality which is actually full of emotions. Similarly, it leads to a “lack of awareness of (these) emotions”, even though they are “present subconsciously or unconsciously [...] influenc[ing] people’s articulated values and observations, thoughts, and actions” (Jaggar 2010, 161).

Our rejection of emotions in approaches, which are meant to seek and find solution to our human problems, is firstly not capable to “eliminate generally accepted social values [...], which are implicit (even) in the identification of the problems” itself. Secondly, it does not lead to new, transformative paths and processes, worthy to encounter (Jaggar 2010, 162). Furthermore, driven from Jaggar’s argument, any forced and exaggerated oppression of emotions on a long term results to unlearning and incapacity to identify underlying emotions and their frequently one-dimensional direction (Jaggar 2010, 164). The result is that the discourse seems to be emotionally free and its arguments a consequence of purely rational observations. Not to be in accordance with it, for example not to fear extensive migration, requires justification because it is more or less against the seemingly natural direction. The myth of an argumentative dispassionate discourse about migration leads to several consequences. Firstly, it covers up all emotions incorporated, especially those who seem naturalized. Secondly, it prevents the stronger development of alternative ones, which already exist. Furthermore, this prevents different directive possibilities and their transformation into realities. By doing so, *Otherring* [my emphasis], nationalism, and xenophobia do have a nourishing ground to flourish.

[“Otherring is the process of casting a group, an individual or an object into the role of the ‘other’ and establishing one’s own identity through opposition to and, frequently, vilification of this Other. Otherring goes beyond ‘mere’ scapegoating and denigration – it denies the *Other* [my emphasis] those defining characteristics of the ‘Same’, reason, dignity, love, pride, heroism, nobility, and ultimately

any entitlement to human rights. Whether the *Other* [my emphasis] is a racial or a religious group, a gender group, a sexual minority or a nation, it is made rife for exploitation, oppression and indeed genocide by denying its essential humanity (Gabriel 2012, online)].

### **I.1.3 State formation, protected citizenship, and migration – the systemic operation of socially constructed fear**

The phenomenon of a social construction of fear can be applied to various discursive levels. On an institutionalized state level, it can be correlated to the concepts of state securitization and protected citizenship. Huysmans describes securitization as “peculiar process of constituting a political community of the established that seeks to secure unity and identity by instituting existential (external) insecurity” (2006, 45). This definition contains several aspects. First of all, the phenomenon of outsourcing elements of threats which in return help to define the secure space inside as a unity that needs to be protected. Therefore, the existence of security is only possible by establishing a boundary towards the insecure. Securitization can be seen as a constitutive political act, and is therefore not a reactionary result of perceived events and situations. It rather becomes a discursive practice with a power to shape several agendas inside the social, legal, and political sphere. Thus, even if securitization starts by nominating potential dangers to the physical survival of a political unit, it finally refers to the independence of a unit's identity and its functional integrity. In this way, it draws a unifying line around an inner freedom that paradoxically only exists by limiting the freedom of external forces. Immigration represents one of the most articulated external threats. At the basic level, the debate around refugees and asylum opens the rhetoric of unease towards the possible interference in a society's order of social, political, and economic values. During colonization, ruling powers opposed nomads migrating through their borders, considering them as a stability challenging force, while “contemporary nations-states fret over the seemingly ceaseless flow of postcolonial migrants whose ongoing transnational ties to homelands and

nationalizing projects abroad call into question local national integration and unity” (Silverstein 2005, 364), and consequently “peace and security” (Glick Schiller & Faist 2009, 4). By lifting up this unease to the level of a widespread political security debate, the modalities of migration are drawn into the frame of a real danger to the existence of the collective unity of a state. The state as protective formation to its society and its definition of sovereignty are the basic principles to this paradigm. By conforming to its obligation to protect its own citizens, the state itself manifests its authority and legitimacy. In order to maintain this status, the rhetoric of external threats turns into a significant instrument of inner state sovereignty (Huyusmans 2006, 45-52). Although migration represents a global issue, it is the nation-state, who conducts “the regulatory and surveillance regime, that disciplines, restricts, and subordinates” the moving humans and thus inheres the execution of power (Glick Schiller & Faist 2009, 7). Due to this, the specialty of a migrant life, even if having moved only one time from A to B, is its individual mobility. This mobility becomes a problematic issue to the nation-state formation. In which these problematic issues present themselves – supposedly economic instability, cultural diffusion or considered threat to political loyalty, is subject to the wider discourses they appear in.

#### **I.1.4 Protected citizenship – a conflictive source to the universality of human rights**

The concept of a right to protect its own sovereignty and a country's citizenship towards the exterior international sphere is the legal base for controlling human movement around a state's border. This certainly clashes with the responsibility to protect what may happen outside the unit, resulting in a situation of both demands clashing. “The relationship between citizenship and human rights is not without its frictions, as the universal character of human rights runs counter to the particularistic nation-state's citizenship” (Bergman 2014, 86). By this, a discrepancy between law and reality,

human rights duties, and nationalist pressures come into place (Bergman 2002, 88). Furthermore, the definition of labor migration as 'uncoerced' movement, establishes the "juridical distinction between economic migrants and political refugees [additionally to the category of the citizen] and the formal basis through which different governmental regimes for immigrant and refugee management would be instituted" (Silverstein 2005, 370). Overall, there is a lack of sufficient channels for legal migration, putting human rights at risk, as 'smugglers and traffickers, unscrupulous recruiters, and corrupt employers are empowered' (UN General Assembly, July 2013, 2, cit. Regan 2014, 152). At the same time, as migration is estimated as an individual act of being capable to concede new survival strategies, reasons for being at need to change location must be seen as also external and globally interconnected.

### **I.1.5 Welfare nationalism and its defining paradigms on the migrant as *Homo Economicus***

An important concept manifesting privileged citizenship is the so-called 'welfare nationalism, the claim of nationals to a privileged standard of socioeconomic welfare' (Boswell 2006, 670, cit. Bergman 2014, 87). Accordingly, directives on migration vary to considerations of its profitability (Silverstein 2005, 370). On the one hand, migration, predominantly in research, is frequently seen as capacity of the individual to decide on the pull and push factors in influencing the migration act, as well as on personal profit, which might result from changing place (Silverstein 2005, 370). In national agenda on the other hand, the migrant turns predominantly into passive usefulness. Apart from advancements to the migrant's life, some theories suggest them to be beneficial to the countries of origin, as remittances are sent home, but as well to the one of the receiving countries, where they fill in labor gaps and "boost economic output, at little or no cost to locals" (Glick Schiller & Faist 2009, 1, UNDP 2009, 3 cit. Regan 2014, 150). In other opinions,



migrants are seen to be extreme victims to the violent submission of all human life to capitalist matters, turning people into what is called *Homo Economicus* (Silverstein 2005, 370). This growing incorporation into neo-liberal agendas at the same time as structural and institutional changes fail to happen, causes an expansion of migrant's labor exploitation (Glick Schiller & Faist 2009, 2). States often deny citizenship and all its including rights to migrants, leading furthermore to abuses of detention and deportation, whenever a migrant is considered to not be of sufficient economic value (Glick Schiller & Faist 2009, 8). Due to this, but also other reasons, migrants are estimated to be extremely vulnerable. "In this asymmetric debate, it is important to point out that those in the South are not equals in setting principles and priorities, they are partners only in implementation" (Glick Schiller & Faist 2009, 5). Thus, migrants' needs and rights are compromised by a '*moral hierarchy of wealth*' (UNDP 2009, 95-112, cit. 152, Picketty 2014, 442-447, cit. Regan 2014, 157).

In South Africa, as in other countries, "vocal calls to maintain, if not expand, welfare policies and for the exclusion of foreign job-seekers presume a state apparatus able to control its borders and remain the legitimate inscriber of the boundaries of a political community" (Klotz 2000, 834). "Identity [does] not result simply from the aggregation of domestic ethnic groups or the triumph of one nationalist agenda over another. Rather, states will redefine their identities in response to changes in the international context, including migration" (Klotz 2000, 835).

### **I.1.6 Ethno-political identities and the racialization of migration as framework for inclusion and exclusion - the psychology of socially constructed fear on the individual's level**

Citizenship in its corpus provided and secured by the state and embodied in each citizens' individual life connects the state level with the individual in its collective existence of social membership. By doing so, it represents the bridge between the two levels and the path, in which the social construction of fear operates. Furthermore, citizenship is based on the concept of in- and out-

group –the ones entitled to hold it vs. the ones who do not. Ideological and practical segregation processes between insiders and outsiders contribute respected connotations of normal vs. non-normal and are part of power maintenance mechanisms. These normalization processes inherit the participation of emotions (Fahlgren 2014, 23). It is a thin line balancing between belonging to the normalized, but at the same time not completely being absorbed and fearing to lose one's individuality (Fahlgren 2014, 24). "Normality is a slippery status that can be lost very quickly" (Fahlgren 2014, 24).

Therefore, group membership continuously needs to be secured, as it is not something automatically permanent. Group membership is performed through acting in accordance with the established normative and moral order, called habitual recitation. If one is able to do so, power may stay with this person, while it separates from those who are not fulfilling the conditions of eligibility. At the same time, those who do not comply with the rules enable divisions of eligibility - it is they who threaten what is seen to be normal and thusly, the overall stability. "If each individual is potentially an outcast, the maintenance of the conditions of eligibility is important work for survival" (Davis 2008, Fahlgren 2005, cit. Fahlgren 2014, 23).

"The conditions of eligibility are themselves formulated in and by power, and this normative exercise of power is rarely acknowledged as an operation of power at all. Indeed, we may classify it among the most implicit forms of power, on that works through its illegibility: it escapes the terms of legibility that it occasions. That power continues to act in illegible ways is one source of its relative invulnerability [...]. The one who speaks according to the norms that govern speak-ability is not necessarily following a rule in conscious way. One speaks according to a tacit set of norms that are not always explicitly coded as rules" (Butler 1997a, 134, cit. Fahlgren 2014, 24).

A form of possible belonging according to the requirements of normality is subject to significant obstacles once definitions on identities are not simply dependent to personal expression and behavior. Thus, migrants might act to the norm and therefore could be easily and quickly included

in a nation-states' identity definition. The fact that racialization represents an inherent factor in the discourse on migration, it impedes or at least burdens in a seemingly naturalized way what is called integration.

Scholars conducting analysis on racialization, the categorical separation and discrimination of humans according to perceived differences due to ethnicity and origin, base their work on the theory that the discourse on migration is constructed around immigration as already explained "a problem of state policy, national cohesion and racial consciousness" (Silverstein 2005, 364). Thus, as Silverstein argues, there is a pattern, which continuously builds the ground for argumentation since the birth of nation-states:

"Racialization correspondingly refers to the process through which any diacritic of social personhood – including class, ethnicity, generation, kinship/affinity, and positions with fields of powers – comes to be essentialized, naturalized, and/or biologized; 'the dynamic, and dialectical representational process of categorization and meaning construction in which specific meanings are ascribed to real or fictitious somatic features' (Wodak & Reisigl 1999, 180, cit. Silverstein 2005, 363). Racialization indexes the historical transformation of fluid categories of difference into fixed species of otherness" (Silverstein 2005, 364).

Silverstein states, that regardless the abolishment of race as a scientific concept and analytical model, race is still a defining social element "wholes vitality and volatility appear to be increasing" especially in migrants lives (Silverstein 2005, 364-365).

Racialization prevents migrants from automatically being normal, thus eligible to the entrance into the group, and encumber the established group members to not fear to lose their position if the group is watered in their considered purity. Additionally, it creates the emotional condition to swim with the group concerning the fear towards migration in general. To not fear migration - an emotion - which has normalized into a fact, considered to be restrained from any feelings, now belongs to the requirements of the in-groups moral beliefs.

### **I.1.7 Migration and citizenship in South Africa – inclusive identities and exclusive policies**

“Nation-building processes are inherently about managing relationships among a country’s diverse groups” (Polzer 2005, 88). After a long systemic history of segregation and exclusive citizenship, in 1994, South Africa’s democratization process was centralized on the basis of social and political rebirth towards unification and equality (Peberdy 2001, 15). Thus, government and society are confronted with multiple challenges as “building a [new defined] nation-state, [...] developing a political community that transcends racial and class divisions, [...] foster[ing an] imaginary [connectedness] overriding distinctions of color, and of repairing the sense of fragmentation felt among black Africans constrained by restrictive ethnic identities” (Palomares & Quiminal 2016, 3). Its constitution is called one of the most progressive in the world in terms of race, gender, class ect., as its preamble states: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity” (Republic of South Africa 1996 a:1, cit. Peberdy 2001, 16). Emotionally, expectations among citizens towards the benefits of that change regarding housing, education, healthcare, and employment are high (Palomares & Quiminal 2016, 4). The same hope is attracting other Africans, trying to find a better a life in Nelson Mandela’s South Africa, which has a comparably prosperic economy, a democratic constitution and peace. As a consequence, the scope of migrant sending countries has widened (Palomares & Quiminal 2016, 4, 5). At the same time as inner deracialization is attempted, xenophobia towards certain migrants is growing (Klotz 2000, 832). It shows that “democrati[z]ation does not automatically translate into a more outward-looking and co-operative foreign policy (Klotz 2000, 837). Thus, paradoxically, the intensification on its inner coherence led to “increasingly restrictionist immigration policies” (Peberdy 2001, 15). Like this, South Africa’s legal framework is presenting itself towards improving racial inequalities within its citizen society,

its migration policy on the contrary is highly discriminatory (Palomares & Quiminal 2016, 4). Certainly, the influence of South Africa's past with its "highly racialized view of the world, the self and the other", or its long perceived feeling to be under threat from outside forces play an important factor to the current situation, but cannot be reduced as the only reason (Palomares & Quiminal 2016, 4, Klotz 2000, 837). Regarding migration, the 1995 amendments to the Immigration act remain within the logic of control rather than facilitation or management of human mobility and was only partly altered in the 2002 replacement legislation to the Immigration Act (Polzer 2005, 85).

### **I.1.8 Illegal migrants – the criminalization of human life**

In particular, this incorporates the following mechanism. Immigration in South Africa primarily appears in a framework of criminalization. Different possible categorizations of immigrants with respective rights as asylum seekers/refugees, economic migrants ect. therefore are predominantly subsumed under the term of illegal immigrants (Polzer 2005, 85). As usual, especially undocumented migration is considered to be a threat to "the nation and its ambitious agendas of political transformation" in South Africa (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 37). Additionally, due to missing or misled data, public discourse is guided by the belief of a massive amount of illegal migrants being responsible for several social and economic problems (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 37). Hence, philosophical principles of Pan-Africanism meet strong conductance of national interests, triggering xenophobia. Home Affairs, the main Department dealing with migration, is criticized to be inefficient and corrupt (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 30, 31). Hence, difficulties to obtain citizenship, gaining access to social services and human rights abuses are part of a migrant's daily life. Due to policy reasons "migrants have been pushed into an irregular and lawless underground", thus illegality, which then in reverse triggers popular opinion on all migrants being criminals (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 38). As a consequence, laws are tightened to calm

citizens. In this logic, instead of migration itself, it is these reciprocal responses from South African society and government, which are impeding further democratic development regarding nation and migration (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 32).

The logic of criminal migration facilitates again the perpetuation of South Africa's state securitization ideology and implementation. Thus, it offered and still offers the base for personal continuity in police, army, and other agencies. Additionally, the absence of a clear political leadership on migration extends the power of the executive responsible for daily actual control implementation. Polzer also states that this is in line with the discourse in most western-logic based countries. South Africa introduced tighter border control, monetarily and ideologically supported by the US, in order to deal with the as illegal labelled, but nevertheless regularly happening circular migration (Polzer 2005, 87).

### **I.1.9 Management of migration labor – an ethnicized political economy**

As familiar in other economically stronger countries around the globe, at the same time as migration is viewed at least, with suspicion, South Africa's industry is demanding highly skilled migrants, including from other African countries, as stated by the African National Congress (ANC). This is also due to 'white skilled brain drain'. As a consequence, Immigration Acts, as the one in 2002, and its amendment in 2004, brought some improvements. Projects like the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative-South Africa (ASGISA) are supposed to particularly develop skilled workers (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 30). Still, migration is not officially seen as a development tool (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau 2008, 33). Accordingly, the often arbitrary implementations of migration law support the management of migrants according to cheap labor needs in the mining, commercial agriculture, construction, and other sectors. Landau calls this logic of 'surplus people', a common mindset, not only in South Africa, but during Apartheid as well used towards Black South Africans as "'foreign natives, temporary sojourners in the city, aliens, who's

usefulness last(s) on their work” (Landau 2010, 219). Because of this, utility determination and citizen claims are related to the individuals’ geographic and cultural points of origin (Landau 2010, 219). Uncertain legal status offers the opportunity for underpayment and absence of labor protection as well as it gives legitimacy to resentment in the name of economy (Polzer 2005, 87).

“On a community level, this “results in an ‘ethnicized political economy’, in which ‘microeconomic friction is displaced into hate-filled nationalism’” (Manzi & Bond 2008, cit. Dodson 2010, 5). The mindset of “deserving citizenry and outsiders” is the bridging point between the official state side and the population (Landau 2010, 221). It combines the discourse of state integrity and citizen claims for protection. It is nourished by the emotion of threat and furthers fear, while it is based on a seemingly unemotional narrative of legitimized citizenship and economic calculation- thus on almost indisputable arguments.

“Selection seems overtly tied to criteria of productivity, class, wealth, skills of potential immigrants, but the processes convey powerful ideas about self-image of destination state, race, national identity, stereotyping of non-nationals and places of origin” (Peberdy 2001, 17).

Through this, bureaucratically institutionalized exclusion (including harassment and detention on a racist base of physical appearance and language skills) is backed up by social legitimacy unified by the aim of “protecting the South African social project” (Landau 2010, 223). Taking into account that South Africa is still among the most unequal societies in the world, where “expected redistribution and poverty have not significantly lessened” (Landau 2010, 219), the arguments of foreigners stealing jobs and taking away already scarce resources have a nourishing ground. “Poor (still largely black) SA nationals see foreign Africans as competing with them for jobs, housing, other services and resources, to which they themselves feel entitled” (Dodson 2010, 5). This, additionally to the immigrants’ supposed involvements in criminal activities or (criminal) violence of nationals triggered

a feeling of being threatened. Especially regarding the township milieu, the argument of uncontrolled urbanization finds application (Landau 2010, 221).

### **I.1.10 Conclusion**

In order to approach how discussions on migration are presented and perceived, this chapter aims to give an understanding to the idea of social discourses being constituted on emotions. By this, it deconstructs the common assumption of dispassionate discourses, which are purely based on rational argumentation. Feminist theory connects this logic to the origins of enlightenment, where ratio and emotion were separated leading to a definition of emotions free from social implications (pure feelings) and the possibility to take decisions without the involvement of emotions. The perception of this separation is embedded in normalization processes, producing opinions and viewpoints as normal, as supposedly based on objective rationality and thus refusing contradicting/criticizing ones, marking them as irrational. Finally, by covering the inherent involvement of emotions in every debate, opposition is not only condemned, but fear loaded discourses are ruling the conversation on public issues as migration, impeding progressive and peaceful transformations.

The social construction of fear finds application on several levels connected to migration. In general, the construction of spaces and their belonging groups builds the ground for a perception of what is inside and needs to be protected and outside, thus to be perceived as a threat to the inner integrity. The building of nation-states with boards and constituting legal, social, and economic system as polity represents the modern manifestation of sovereign power and the legitimacy to control. Citizenship with all its benefits to the one obtaining it, acts as partner to state sovereignty, as it needs to be protected by the state, while in exchange promises to oblige to the systems rules. The separation of people eligible to citizenship or being prevented of it, as in the case of different classifications of migrants, results in the legal denial of human rights. In the economic sphere of the so-called welfare-



nationalism, the logic of securing the welfare of the citizenry leads to characterizing migrants almost exclusively according to their usefulness- as *Homo Economicus* [my emphasis]. Finally, on a psychological base, still existing perception of racial (ethnic, class, generation and other) categorizations result in the legitimation of in- and out-groups or what is normal and abnormal.

Looking at South Africa's current situation regarding state-formation, citizenship and migration is defined as inclusive identities and exclusive policies. By including the implication of South Africa's past and the one of the Apartheid system, authors aim to explain how the importance of inner unification after the end of the racist dictatorship is now impacting South Africa's perception and treatment of foreigners. Thus, the general criminalization and the perception as economic burden of certain migrant groups act in contradiction to philosophical ideas on Pan-Africanism. In general, these logics therefore build the ground for further state securitization and control in South Africa, as well as the legitimization for an ethnicized political economy. As in Europe, migrants are therefore accepted if filling needs in the local economy, while not giving them further protection.

## **CHAPTER I.2 - THE MEDIA AS AN ACTOR IN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES**

### **I.2.0 Introduction**

The discussion of the Media's role in society requires the inclusion of several aspects and levels. Representing an actor in different systems – national and international, journalism and media production are part of political, economic, and social paradigms. Additionally, as a profession, journalists are required to fulfill or aim independently to comply with standards, ethics and practices. These vary over time and stand in connection to the context they appear. Transformations occur parallel or as countermechanisms to changes in society. Produced and transported discourses therefore stand in communication with what is discussed in society, resulting in reciprocal influencing. These influences are difficult to detect, and frequently may be covered by standardized procedures. Thus, to understand the content of a certain media text requires to include the context of production, underlying ideas on journalistic profession and the discourse of interdependence. In the following chapter, the concept of Peace Journalism (PJ) is presented as opponent to standard modern newspaper journalism. According to Peace Journalist's claims, the difference in these approaches gain especially in contexts of conflict importance, where the way how informations are gathered and presented, has significant impact on the reception and possible peaceful transformation of it.

### **1.2.1 Peace Journalism**

A peaceful society is not a society without conflicts but a society which is capable to bear, discuss, and implement peaceful strategies in order to transform its conflicts. Conflicts, in this assumption are therefore considered to be necessary signs of any society's argumentative and actual struggle over definitions and positions.

“In conflict, there is a clear danger of violence, but as well a clear opportunity for human progress, using the conflict to find new ways, being imaginative, creative, transforming the conflict, without violence” (Galtung 2000, 8).

Peace Journalism is situated within this peace philosophy developed by Johann Galtung. By critically opposing common routines and presentations regarding conflictive issues – defined as war journalism- Galtung advocates for changing paradigms. These, instead of reinforcing and augmenting the status quo of conflicts and their underlying patterns, inherits the goal to contribute to an understanding and possible peaceful transformations of the conflict (Lukacovic 2016, 2). Thus, peace journalism is a “normative and conscious media coverage” directing towards “critical evaluations of the current state of conflict coverage and efforts to conceptualize professional values and practices in both theoretical and operational terms” (Lukacovic 2016, 2). Thus, peace journalism defines the possibility of choice in two dimensions regarding journalistic coverage of conflictive events, situations, and social processes. Thus, neither content, nor mode of presentation are limited to ultimate determination. There is no direct linear reason – consequence relationship between audience and the media/journalism, but there are discursive mechanisms in place which are mutually influencing and/or occurring in parallel timelines which add to the general constitution of a certain social and political situation.

Peace Journalism positions itself in continuation of media ethics, including “truth-telling avoidance of conflict of interest, [...] maintaining autonomy from government or corporate interests (see The New York Times staff, Sept. 2004; The Washington Post standards and ethics, cit. Kelling & Horvit 2017, 3). Considering these paradigms as minimum standards, the ethics of peace journalism aim to extent all possible principles of giving the most inclusive, anti-stereotyping, and transformation supportive reporting. Accordingly, content production and mediation includes a self -understanding

of journalists as professionals with social and humanitarian obligations. In order to follow these premises, the journalist is required to stay aware of their own position and actions. Jake Lynch, when introducing peace journalism, explains: “peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – about what to report and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict” (Lynch 2012, 1). This is certainly a powerful role of the journalist him or herself as well as of this profession as part of an economic system with political and social implications. She claims that journalism has fallen into a certain routine of how to categorize, validate, and present what is supposed to be fact and important. Filling the role as a gatekeeper, the media plays an important part of shaping our reality, simply by managing content due to its considered value, to the front, back or outside of interest. Peace journalism has opened up the discussion of what stands behind this management, and how “these preferences, or biases, hardened into industry conventions as journalism began to be sold as a mass-produced commodity in consumer societies”, ready to be tailored to anybody’s acceptance and to conform with political, social, and economic interests in order to keep stability (Lynch 2012, 1). All ethical considerations are also subject to different ideas on journalism itself. Nevertheless, it is an ethical debate, which can and should be made a matter of discussion. Communication, media research, and philosophy for peace developed a set of ideas which can be applied in order to transform journalism into a “remedial strategy able to contribute to the peaceful transformation of conflict and conflictive topics.

Peace journalism therefore is one that

1. “Explores the backgrounds of conflict formation, presenting causes and options” of all included and excluded parties
2. “Gives voice to the views of all rival parties, from all levels”
3. “Exposes lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and reveals excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, people of all parties”

4. Discusses possible ways to “initiate reconstruction, reconciliation and resolution”
5. Transports empathy and understanding
6. Pays attention to peace stories” and post-conflict developments
7. Orients towards truth, transformation and all members of society (Lynch 2012, 2-3)

(Kelling & Horvit 2017, 2-3)

Peace Journalism	War Journalism
<b>PEACE/CONFLICT ORIENTATION</b>	<b>WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATION</b>
1. Proactive; reporting on causes and consequences	1. Reactive; focus on here and now
2. Reports also on invisible effects of war	2. Reports mainly on visible effects of war
3. Avoid dichotomous labeling and partisan reporting	3. Dichotomizes between the good guys and bad guys; partisan reporting
4. Avoids victimizing, demonizing, and emotive language	4. Uses victimizing, demonizing, and emotive language
5. Win-win orientation	5. Zero-sum orientation (one goal: to win)
<b>PEOPLE ORIENTATION</b>	<b>ELITE ORIENTATION</b>
6. Giving a voice to the voiceless	6. Giving voice to elite sources of information
7. Multiparty orientation (gives voice to many parties involved in the conflict)	7. Two-party orientation (one party wins, one party loses)
<b>SOLUTION ORIENTATION</b>	<b>VICTORY ORIENTATION</b>
8. Seeking solutions (report on the areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to the conflict)	8. Focuses mainly on differences that lead to the conflict
9. Stays on and reports aftermath of war – the reconstruction, rehabilitation, and reconciliation	9. Stops reporting with the peace treaty signing and ceasefire and heads for another war elsewhere

Holding these characteristics, it attempts to cover backgrounds and contexts, roots, relationships of “all parties setting, and pursuing incompatible goals” (Lynch 2012, 4). Being truthful therefore means, being aware as much as possible of additional and/or missed out information and of reasons behind a desire to do so. “Peace journalism is that which abounds in cues and clues to prompt and equip us to negotiate our own readings, to open up multiple readings, to inspect propaganda and other self-serving presentations on the outside” (Lynch 2012, 4). Within the normative valuation of journalistic functioning, certain authors place peace journalism at the highest level in terms of its role to critically operate and therefore oppose systems and its structures. (Kelling & Horvit 2017, 3).

	Interpretation of media's normative obligations	Media's relationship with the sociopolitical system
Collaborative Role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media maintain social order</li> <li>Support stability of the system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media are willing and highly integral part of the system</li> </ul>
Monitorial Role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media inform the public about all relevant events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media operate within the system</li> </ul>
Facilitative Role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media actively support development and thriving of civil society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media still operate within the system, however, contribute to reforms by helping different groups to gain voice</li> </ul>
Radical Role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media speak up against problematic aspects of the system</li> <li>Empower various echelons of society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media challenge the system and attempt to change or reform the sociopolitical order</li> </ul>

Table 1: Normative roles of mass media (according to Christians et al., 2009).

It needs to be highlighted though, that peace journalism does not see itself as primarily radical, fighting and pushing social force, but merely as social actor who aims to question itself at any point, as it does the system and all other participating players. Challenging the system in this context, consequently means a constant revision and reformation of one's own mindset, as well as the mindset of the others. It asks to understand the reciprocal mechanisms of information mediation, opinion formation and action. Peace journalism does not ask to be in or outside the system, as it tries to be conscious about all interconnections and interdependences to their full amplitude, including the ones itself is involved. As a communicator it tries to offer the most resourceful platform as base for discussion and the development of alternative ways to express, interpret and develop new ideas.

### **I.2.2 Discussing the criticism on the concept Peace Journalism- objectivity vs. truthfulness**

Peace Journalisms is as well receiving criticism. One of the strongest argument opposing peace journalism criticizes, that peacemaking would not be a journalist's task, but the one of political responsibility. "Its normative proposals raise the misleading impression that the implementation of peace would primarily be the task of the media – and not the duty of policy making" (Grundmann 2000, 94, cit. Hanitzsch 2004, 485). What Hanitzsch calls misleading is actually what philosophy for peace argues for: "peace transformation [...] presupposes a peaceful context as provided by peace education/journalism (Galtung 2000, 3). Regardless of former/other definitions and philosophical

approaches on conflict and its subsequent paths to manage or resolve it, as explained above, Galtung introduces the idea of conflicts and their possibilities to transform into peace. Part of this concept is the idea that conflicts are signs of social issues, which ask for being heard and dealt with. These conflicts do not need to arise to a state of violence, which a peaceful society is capable of preventing. This capability is based on the knowledge, will, and practical tools acquired by societies. It includes any level - from single person to group, grassroots, institutional or governmental - and any field independently if political, social, economic, educational, environmental or other imaginable areas of interest to society's well-being. Instead of what Hanitzsch mentions according to Galtung's opinion to be "primarily be the task of the media" for the latter it is a responsibility which should be included in any activity or profession in order to process a peaceful society. But media, especially as dominant channel and form of mass communication indeed inherits as particular significant role. Hackett points out, in which way the importance of media and journalism constitutes itself: "Struggles for peace and justice are also struggles for democratic communication" (Hackett 2010, 179). Galtung equally states:

"Peace has to include human rights and democracy. One problem is incompatibility between news as dramatic, negative, elitist, and peace as something soothing, positive, for everybody; peace as the right to live life without violence and unnecessary interference. The way out for journalists would be to focus on the struggle for peace as dramatic, but positive, engaged in by many people, the heroes and heroines of daily life. Feel their agony in coming nowhere, portray their pain, make them visible, and lift them up. What else is democracy about then about people struggling for a better life?" (Galtung 2000, 5).

Another argument contra a special approach of peace journalism presented by Hanitzsch refers to the ideal of neutrality: PJ "would compromise the integrity of journalists and confuse their role as neutral disseminators" (Lyon 2003, cit. Hanitzsch 2004, 485). The values of neutrality include objectivity, impartiality, and balance in reporting which in Hanitzsch's rhetoric is meant to be 'good journalism'. According to him, PJ contributes to a shift "from detachment to involvement, from verification to

assertation, from objectivity to subjectivity” (Hanitzsch 2004, 486). Hackett, responding to Hanitzsch’s criticism, opens up the discussion about the term objectivity, stating that apart from its “positive connotations, such as the pursuit of truth without fear or favor”, it is subject to different interpretations. In contemporary North American journalism, Hackett argues, “objectivity constitutes a multifaced discursive ‘regime’, an interrelated complex of ideas and practices that provide a general model for conceiving, defining, arranging, and evaluating news texts, practices and institutions” (Hackett 2010, 180). Following these ideals, journalism has to comply with rules as “accuracy, completeness, as well as separation of fact from opinion”, and demonstrate “independence, avoiding partisanship, personal biases, ulterior motives, or outside interests” (Hackett 2010, 180). This set of principles is embedded in the belief, that one can understand and capture one single reality, perceived “through careful observation and disinterested reporting” (Hackett 2010, 180). Researchers and practitioners uncovered problematic systemic attachments and consequences. Thus, the reduction to what is considered hard facts often leads to a documentation style, which has been identified by PJ as lacking of context (Hackett 2010, 181). The so called separation of fact and opinion includes choosing sources, which have been formerly identified as legitimate. At this point, officials, authoritative leaders, and other powerful and elite actors win over those voices who are of opposition, grassroots, outside the system or simply normal citizens. As a consequence, the proclaimed balance in the discussion is fought by often two sided leadership which puts the issue furthermore in the light of one in need to win over the other in order to solve the conflict. Additionally, this frequently results in the privileging of political strategies over proper analysis of situations in their whole complexity as well as discrete and timely events over long-term processes (Hackett 2010, 181). Hackett believes:

“The appearance of objectivity arguably also masks other media democratic deficits [...] that critical political economists have identified. Such critiques are contentious, but there is widespread agreement that the objectivity regime is in crisis. Anglo-American journalism is increasingly dissolving within



profit-driven conglomerates, its economic basis threatened by audience fragmentation, its occupational ethos shifting from public service (however conservatively defined), to consumerism and commercialism”.

At the same time as PJ has been accused to lack objectivity, it has been viewed with suspicion for its demand to dedicate to the truth: “I concede that perfect truth is unattainable [...]. I engage with philosophers who examine objectivity [...] that it does still have a value” (Lyon 2007, 1). This accusation misinterprets the idea of striving for the truth of the issue as a basic ethical position, and not by believing to already know it. Therefore, it is an attachment to the path of conflict relief through a most inclusive manner of presenting all voices and stories. Journalistic praxis therefore is seen to be situated on a continuum, where even the journalist can and must criticize, extend, and update former work if new information has been revealed. PJ is aware about the selectivity every journalistic process entails, therefore situates itself within constructivism and the belief about reciprocal influences leading to what is perceived reality at a certain time and point, which thus needs to be continuously questioned.

### **1.2.3 Instrumental rationality – the systemic limitations on humanistic values**

Regarding the discussion on objectivity and truth, I would like to introduce another theory which offers a way to understand how the criteria of objectivity has been evolved as a result of discursive beliefs and practices to the current journalism, peace journalists have considered as a concept in need to reform. The “hegemony of instrumental rationality” (Ketchum 2004, 31) claims that instrumental rationality is prioritized over ethical, whereas its subsequent “set of unwritten criteria [...] embrace[s] particular values and practices”. These are considered to be necessary in order to demonstrate a valuable voice and legitimate representation within the discourse (Ketchum 2004, 31). Instrumental rationality evolves as underlying ideology, drawn from already existing perforations

of what is rational, thus according to enlightenment, proper use of human capacity to judge and decide without influence of intuition, superstition, and as explained in former chapters - emotions. However, instead of even following a discussion of unrestricted reasoning, which is supposed to fuse into unbiased results, reasoning is replaced by one which only serves to already predefined paradigms and power structures. This form of rationality impedes what Habermas calls 'communicative action'. Communicative action would involve journalists presenting debate oriented arguments, aiming for mutual understanding. Instead though, many discussions simply circulate around "organizational routines of journalists [...], the political economy of news", and existing legitimacies of sources (Ketchum 2004, 33). Thus, discussion serves goal orientation and problem solving agendas with their preferred values such as "technical reason, control, efficiency", and a system maintaining order. "By focusing on information that advances a discrete story, rather than taking an analytic perspective" including values and ethics, "journalists put forth an ideological position that discounts meaningful debate" (Ketchum 2004, 34).

"Habermas contends that a major problem today is that instrumental rationality has been collapsed into the concept of 'rationality' itself and now dominates the *lifeworld* [my emphasis], the place where most people live their daily lives. For Habermas, in the lifeworld, social norms, not technical reason, should govern one's conceptualizations of reality rather than the cold calculations that serve as the basis of instrumental rationality (Boyte, 1995: 17, cit. Ketchum 2004, 34). He is concerned that the systems world logic is dominating the lifeworld, including journalism" (Kethum 2004, 34).

The process of focusing on what is valued as discrete logical facts, which are often separated from citizens' experiences and human considerations, is called the 'scientization of news' (Hallin 1994, cit. Ketchum 2004, 35). As a consequence, the audience is degraded to observe and accept, instead of question and challenge. Thus, stating criticism and/or presenting alternatives is impossible as sources and ideas outside of the system logic are seen as irrational and therefore not as reasonable to consider (Ketchum 2004, 35). Habermas' claim for not absorbing the *lifeworld* [my emphasis] by the premises

of the *systemworld* [my emphasis] and its exclusion of humanistic principles, the theory of peace journalism similarly wants to promote “moral and ethical values in the media; widen scholarly and professional horizons; and provide better public service by the media” (Shinar 2007, 3).

As a final critic of Hanitzsch on peace journalism, I would like to mention the statement that “journalists said that their primary concern was to report the situation and suffering of civilians instead of covering military operations”. He cites Erich Rathefelder, journalist at the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*: ‘I stand on the side of the victims. I take a side in the war-the side of the victim’ (Richter 1999, 250, cit. Hanitzsch 2004, 486). By this, he desires to defend classical journalism against peace journalist’s denunciation, formulated in his words: “journalists mainly like to report on violent actions and military operations” (Hanitzsch 2004, 486). As it will show itself to be an important part of the following analysis, it is essential to mention that an oversized depiction of human suffering is not what peace journalism suggests as desired praxis in its function to support society’s efforts to conflict transformation. In line with valuing all forces in society as influential pieces in the puzzle of peace processes, civilians - actually any involved humans are supposed to be portrayed not only in their misery, but in their capacities. As shown in the above table, peace journalism “[a]voids victimizing language, reports what has been done and could be done by people, and how they are coping” (Kelling & Horvit 2017, 2-3).

With all these considerations, PJ asks the professional world of journalism and media to question itself and to aspire self-growth (Shinar 2007, 3). Through widening the horizon of the media itself and the research about it, including self-criticism, its contribution to society will hopefully grow. Reciprocally, by this, the newsworthiness of peace stories might grow and transform the widely considered idea that news needs to be negatively dramatic to be of value to publish (Shinar 2007, 3).

### **I.2.4 Transferring the definition of War Journalism to the conditions on Cold Conflicts – racialization and xenophobia in the discursive struggle on migration**

Finally, what Galtung and Lynch refer to, is reportage on explicit and open conflicts, although their demand for a peace journalistic concept would then include the hidden parts of what war journalism depicts simply as the open violence resulting if conflicts are not dealt with in a peaceful manner. In this thesis I will analyze the media coverage of a conflict which has violent outbreaks, but also as probably all other confrontations, silent and implicit problems. Media coverage itself is one of these implicit problems. Due to these reasons, I will transfer the analytical framework of peace journalists analyzing media coverage on hot wars to one which is merely a cold conflict, similar to the one developed by the authors Rob McMahon and Peter A. Chow-White. In order to develop a theoretical model to analyze racism in media, these researchers combined facets of peace journalism with theoretical approaches derived from critical race theory, including communication theories as agenda-setting and framing (McMahon & Chow-White 2011, 990). Chosen conflict for analysis in their work are “struggles over representations of race and racism; what Gramsci refers to as a war of position”. It is a war over social order which takes its path through “different social institutions, including the media which play an important role in the formation of” in their case “racial identity. [...] Media representations of racialized communities include well-identified problems of underrepresentation, stereotypical categorization, negative and problem-oriented coverage, and a tendency to ignore structural and lived racism” (McMahon & Chow-White 2011, 990). Considering the similarities between racial media coverage and the one concerning migration in combination with national identities, I follow the suggestion “that it [PJ] needs to extend its fields of analysis to address the roles that structural factors such as religious, national, transnational, and ethnic identities play in conflicts” (El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010, cit. McMahon & Chow-White 2011, 992). By this, my

research is concerned about the often difficult to identify structural mechanisms between social life, political action, and media discourse that reproduce and naturalize inequality and create xenophobia, high levels of social fear and violence (McMahon & Chow-White 2011, 992). “The association between representation and violence lies in the way in which groups are objectified, dehumanized, and inferiorized in the media. In this sense, media discourses can and do exert a form of symbolic violence” (Jiwani 2006, 37, cit. McMahon & Chow-White 2011, 992).

### **I.2.5 Democratization and media in South Africa**

The democratization process in South Africa carried significant transformations of the political communication system along with it. Parallel to greater and constitutionally protected freedom, an understanding of media as democratic institution evolved (Wasserman 2010, 568). In general, it needs to be considered to what extent political changes lead to profound transformation in society or predominantly result in the reconstruction of power relations. In connection with the political communication and media system, this initiates a variety of questions on the media's role in democratization processes. Freedom of speech and the media as an uncontrolled marketplace of ideas evoke the fear of the latter turning into a battleground for gaining the power over the argument. Thus, the lack of any regulations would lead to the dependency of expressing voice on having access to the mediator, while economic capacity and power relations increasingly define the doors of access. On the one hand, media as a public institution under responsible democratic state protection can represent a mechanism to assure equal participation of all social groups. On the other hand, increased state involvement similarly bears the risk of influence abuse and suppressing control (Wasserman 2010, 568). However, marketization of media fuses national media systems with globalized economy. A responsible media apparatus can be envisioned as a guide or as a watchdog. The former would accompany the state's intentions and procedures towards democratization, while the latter functions

as an observing eye and intervening voice. Therefore, it is a discussion about the meanings or negotiations of the relative importance of central normative concepts and thus the relationship between freedom and responsibility (Wasserman 2010, 569). Structural aspects of institutional histories, economic systems, and cultural ideologies are equally participating in the discourse and influence the specific realization in a country (Wasserman 2010, 570).

### **I.2.6 Media production in post-apartheid South Africa between journalistic self-understanding, socio-political expectations and economic paradigms**

In the South African context, following a history of violent media control and suppressed freedom of speech, media freedom was formulated as an essential part in the new constitution and is protected by various institutions including the Freedom of Expression Institute and the Press Ombudsman. (Wassermann 2010, 570, 572). In order to shift power constellations, ownership of all important South African newspaper titles was transferred to black empowerment consortia and foreign investors. Commercialization extended as a result of state detachment of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. It also reduced international funding on the former alternative, grassroots media, which altogether was perceived as restrictions of the media's public service functions due to commercial priorities and the intervention from new political forces. Political exertion of influence is felt when officials criticize journalists for extending their perceived mandate of being a watchdog to the extent of being disrespectful, when editorial content modification is requested and when "behind-the-scene politicking on executive boards" is performed (Wasserman 2010, 573). Another questionable interdependence between politics and media can be seen in the practice of governments' placement of commercials in certain media. Nevertheless, improved self-regulation and professionalization became notable as much as content became more diverse and open-minded (Wasserman 2010, 571, 573). In line with that, a self-regulatory system of ethical codes and a non-racial professional body

was introduced, furthering the argument of extended media freedom. However, official state voices continue to criticize “the media for failing to regulate themselves, and in turn propose the establishment of a statutory body to ensure that media act ‘responsibly’ and uphold human rights” (Wasserman 2010, 571). The media itself, however, increasingly perceives itself as a political actor, merely due to the lack of an opposition party, challenging the ruling ANC (African National Congress). Thus, the media is far more than a guide dog or even a watch dog (Wasserman 2010, 573). Further signs of responsibility include “transparency, accountability, accuracy, people’s dignity, reputation, avoidance of stereotyping” and the government thus is accused to lack responsibility by not regulating ownership and cartelization of media producers (Wasserman 2010, 573). Finally, research has revealed that freedom of expression is still seen as privilege for the already privileged, “not making a real difference in the lives of the poor majority of South Africans [...] , leading to a narrow conception of the public and its interests” (Wasserman 2010, 574). “From these clashes it has become clear that normative values such as freedom of expression, the public interest and social responsibility are all but self-evident in the new democracy” (Wasserman 2010, 572).

### **I.2.7 Depiction of migration in SA media/ SA media as part of a xenophobic discourse**

Previous research on migrants’ portrayal in South African media followed the following questions:

“Why is it important to examine media when exploring xenophobia in SA? How xenophobic are the media in SA? To what extent were the media seen to exacerbate the situation (e.g. stigmatizing foreigners)? What are the common myths perpetuated by the media? What does a review of media not tell us about events leading up to May and June 2008 and what can be done to support the media in efforts to transform the manner in which they report on Xenophobia in SA?” (Smith 2011, 112).

Key findings included a predominant lack of in-depth analysis concerning migration-related issues, as well as a high number of explicitly anti-immigrant sentiments or at least strong negative references. More positive portrayals do exist, but on a very small scale. Furthermore, articles dealing with incidents labelled as xenophobic or articles discussing the phenomena in general appear on a continuous frequency, though augmenting with the happening of so-called high-profile events. Additionally, in these studies, stereotyping is perceived as performed in a “covert and subtle” manner rather than being “an active intention of the media”. Finally, “migrants, identified by a number of terms, however, still appear in the role of criminal perpetrator in a number of items, particularly in the case of arrest (which can happen due to other reasons as well) (Smith 2011, 117-118). In general, Smith supposes a general “hegemonic language” used in South Africa [...] when talking about foreign nationals”, which is then constantly reproduced (Smith 2011, 119). Selectivity of sources (information and interviews) is also pointed out as an issue (Smith 2011, 119)

“In addition, and thereby revealing their strong reliance on a political-economy approach to understanding print media, the studies referred to earlier typically emphasize the notion that control of the print media by an elite ‘shapes and reproduces ideologies in order to reinforce dominant class interests through the discursive medium of the press. [...] However, one could also argue, particularly in the SA case, that a political economy perspective can over-emphasize the economic dimensions of media production und under-emphasize the political dimension” (Smith 2011, 119).

### **I.2.8 Condemnation of xenophobia alongside criminalization of migrants by the elite media- a coupled mechanism of privilege**

The elite media in South Africa – produced by the elite and for the elite, as will my analysis conform, labels the violent outbreaks of 2008 predominantly as representation of xenophobia. At the same time, it links the migrants, in the moment of the incidents as victims, in general though to criminal, or at least illegal or unfair economic practices.



The current approaches regarding refugee protection move between charity and justice. “In a charitable discourse, the ‘other’ is positioned as needing protection and in some way lacking in a full adult capacity, which places those in power in the benevolent and condescending role of the protector” (Bergman 2014, 85). While applying mechanisms for protection of the other, the protector’s own entitlements are not endangered. “The role of protector as maintaining privilege is also related to paternalism” (Bergman 2014, 86). While privileged positions and practices might rather be questioned on the individual level, the institutional and discursive levels tend to be more resistant towards challenges (Bergman 2014, 90). The elite, responsible for the media production and hence how the coverage on the violent outbreaks is conducted, is neither the one directly being affected by changing migration legislation, nor the one that is directly involved in the violence. This certainly creates a privileged distance, allowing the privileged to condemn the violence produced by the underprivileged. Further, the distance also enables to consider illegality and criminal action as the reason causing the violence. Both lead to the reaffirmation of power structures, as well as stricter application of security and punishment structures towards the one responsible for the violence. Xenophobia might be widespread in a society, but it is less likely to trigger violent acting among the privileged. “To be in a situation of privilege is further related to feelings of being at home in the world [...] positions of privilege free people from feelings of fear, anxiety by escaping penalties or dangers that others suffer, by not having to hide or to be in disguise, the privileged are also kept from having to be angry” (Bergman 2014, 91).

### **I.2.9 Conclusion**

*Chapter 2* introduces the concept of Peace Journalism. Being part of Johan Galtung's ideas on peace transformation, it represents a concept with ethical implications on the role and production of information when covering conflicts. By this, the choice of the journalist is directed towards

journalistic praxis, which in contrast to the one defined as war journalism, intends to deconstruct the conflict, include voices and ideas from every level, and be humanistic rather than sensationalist. By this, it complies with constant awareness on its own position in economic and political influences. Thus, Peace Journalism does not aim to be in or outside the system, but be a peaceful connector between all actors. Similarly, it does not claim to be objective, but truth seeking. The question of objectivity marks the main point of discussion between regular modern journalism and Peace Journalism, where the latter being accused of taking biased positions, defends the impossibility of neutrality and impartiality in current journalistic praxis. This results from a concept of rationality which follows predefined power structures behind argumentations and defined legitimization of sources. Finally, the idea of instrumental rationality takes this further, stating that the premises behind rationality are not predominantly an open discussion of ideas, but the rationality of the outcome's usefulness to systemic and technic preservation, which results in the dismissal of humanistic values and ethics.

In order to understand the texts context of production in South Africa, the implications of the country's political and social changes after the end of Apartheid are taken into consideration. The dictatorship's falling caused shifts in power relations, political dependency and ownership. Questions on the media's role in the democratization process arouse, asking for detachment from political system, but therefore being at risk to be subsumed under the mechanisms of economic power instead. In particular, positively, several institutions and procedures to protect the freedom of expression were introduced. Ownership changes lead to increased commercialization and a reduction of former media inheriting critical positions to compliance to an uncritical position towards the new government. Journalistic self-understanding nevertheless, was to be the one of political opposition, whereas social inequality is further represented in those being heard, published and publishing.

Regarding migration, the discourse in the media is generally identified as part of a general one rejecting it. It is furthermore seen as one that is poor in context and deepness, full of stereotyping and well incorporated hegemonic rhetoric. Presenting the repeated violence between locals and foreigners in the township as simply and purely xenophobic, while the media itself perpetrates the idea of all migrants being criminal illegals can be interpreted as a coupled mechanism of privilege of the elite. It therefore distances itself from the violent incidents in particular, as well from social inequality and xenophobia in general.

## II ANALYSIS

The following Chapter demonstrates the findings in their systematic organization. Text reference is provided including the colours used to visualize belonging to the same frame, actor categorization or metaphorical association. The separate presentation of the citation in boxes, serves to ease the reading, to keep clear and to show them in their context. Within my text, referenced material is typed in *cursive*. Furthermore, all newspaper articles can be found in their completeness in the appendix.

### CHAPTER II.1 FRAMES

#### II.1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the encountered frames, thus the lenses which are applied in the media text in order to look at migration and perceive its consequences.

#### II.1.1 Criminality/Illegality, Security & Victimization/Vulnerability

##### II.1.1.1 Criminality - the expatriate as active perpetrator of criminal actions or as criminal element due to his/her illegality

Despite sporadic statements condemning a connection between the % and criminality, there is a significant number of articles and phrases actually creating this association. One example is a statement made by the Zulu King, which is repeated over and over again throughout the whole month. Mostly it is presented as a citation directly taken from his speech or from other officials:

<p>“More than two weeks ago Zwelithini said foreigners were involved in criminal activities including rape” (Malefane April 13, 2015, Sowetan).</p>
<p>‘His [Zwelithini]’s context was our borders were porous, people were walking in and out without any documentation. If we continue to allow that situation, we’ll end up not being able to trace them and that contributes to the escalation of crime’ (Malefane April 13, 2015, Sowetan).</p>

Neither describing expatriate as *foreigners* nor the expression *criminal activities* for the affiliated actions offers any further information on either of them. Furthermore, being involved does not give precise insight on the role of the expatriate and gravity of the offense or on who else might be part of what is seen as criminal. More elaborated interpretations of the king's statement already include the security apparatus, which is presented to be necessary in order to stop criminal activities. Just as the verb to *be involved*, the verb to *be engaged* is an imprecise description.

"Zuma said police were working hard to arrest foreign nationals who engaged in criminal activities, and many arrests and convictions were being announced publicly" (African News Agency April 13, 2015, Cape Times).

The following phrases generate the existence of a vague, but potentially dangerous criminal force within contemporary South African society which results from its imagined uncontrollable heterogeneity. The differentiation follows the idea of *ethnicities*. While not particularly distinguishing between the various ethnicities, the mixture is described as a *salad*. A salad is the visual representation of various ingredients in a bowl, building a somehow undefined mixed dish, which nevertheless does not erase the different colors and tastes of its recipe. Some components of this blend are *criminal elements*. Their components specific differences disappear and are reduced to an essential or characteristic part of something abstract, only defined by its negative consequences. Thus, the expression of a *salad breeding dangerous criminal activities* evokes a flavor of badly combined, expired and probably disease-bringing ingredients. The image of a plague is also evoked by calling the alleged criminality caused by migration the *forefront of a scourge*. This scourge is said to bear *illegal activities such as drugs and human trafficking*, both commonly representing one of the worst

and dirtiest human activities. This makes the accompanying adjective *dangerous* almost obsolete while it is not clear to whom the risk applies, the perpetrator or the victim.

<p>!This ethnic salad also breeds dangerous criminal activities such as drugs, prostitution and human trafficking.” (Govender April 12, 2015, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>In this respect, he observed that the "authorities have failed in their job of curbing illegal migration, which is unacceptable anywhere in the world". This unregulated migration, he said, had also brought in many criminal elements, who he believes are at the forefront of a scourge of illegal activities such as prostitution and drugs (Khoisan April 18, 2015, Cape Argus).</p>
<p>"President Zuma has emphasised that the government is addressing the issues being raised by citizens nationally, in particular, complaints about illegal and undocumented migrants, the takeover of local shops and other businesses by foreign nationals as well as perceptions that foreign nationals perpetrate crime (Levosol, April 13, 2015, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>"Citizens should also provide information to the police if they know of foreign nationals who are engaged in criminal activities. They should not be attacked. We wish to emphasise that police will also take action against all people who engage in violence, including foreign nationals as well if they attack citizens" (Cape Argus, Cape Times April 13, 2015)</p>

Here, citizens' voices are indirectly involved, giving the statement further and broader legitimacy. Furthermore, there even is an attempt to include the population apart from the official apparatus asking the former for vigilance regarding foreigners' *engagement in criminal activities*. Criminality remains again undefined or refers to the recorded *violence*, which is coming from *all people*. Nevertheless, subsequently only *foreign nationals* are singled out to be mentioned in particular.

<p>“He pointed out that all spheres of government had also been directed to enforce laws and by-laws to curb the growth of illegal trading and unlicensed shops which appeared to be of concern to citizens throughout the country. The government also reminded citizens that not all foreign nationals were living in South Africa illegally – ANA” (April 13, 2015, Pretoria News).</p>
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Once more including the *concern* of the citizen, the coverage now talks about extended legal mechanisms to *curb*, thus building a stopping force against a *growing illegality*. The reminder of *not*

*all foreign nationals* being illegal indirectly creates the connection between the two rather than the opposite, as the phrase intends to suggest. The difference to the second statement is an underlying distance between the author of the article and the statement by the president, indicated by the expressions *he observed, he said, he believes* and *such as*. At this point a connection of reference to the outside of South Africa is drawn, and thus a certain form of authorization created, unless *anywhere in the world* neither shows a very specific allocation.

### II.1.1.2 Securitization as natural responsive consequence to all forms of unlawful threats

The frame of *illegality* and *criminality* is deeply interwoven with the patterns of security and strength. The security frame in its base focuses on weak structural mechanisms.

<p>“the country's borders were weakly policed and so made the country a haven for illegal immigrants” (Savides &amp; Pillay, 2015, April 1 The Times).</p>
<p>South Africans have always advocated strengthening the continent, as South Africa cannot thrive in a pool of poor countries, and this entails harbouring refugees while peace is sought in their countries (Nkonyane &amp; Vosloorus, 2015, Nkonyane 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent).</p>

Securitization nourishes from the deconstruction of stability and security and by this establishing the effect of creating a demand for it. Following this principle, the country while defined as *haven*, in general a protective space with a welcoming door to a home is given a negative connotation. *Harboring* is presented as a temporary act for which to obtain seekers need to fulfill certain criteria. The description of SA being surrounded by a pool of *poor countries* associates similarly the image of an exclusive island of hope everybody wants to reach. To call yourself a refugee and not being entitled to be one, therefore is abusing the very generosity of the one offering protection. Shelter is tied to conditions. *Reasons that are not particularly clear* do not count and suspicion is required. The

necessity of security for the other is a perceived feeling of threat to the saver. Consequently, the security of the migrants must be torpedoing the security of the country.

“The government's poor border control resulted in migrants swelling the country's cities” (Runji, 2015, April 16, Sowetan).
“Furthermore, government has poorly managed our borders, allowing thousands of foreign nationals to flock into the country, some of whom commit serious crimes [...]” (Makunga, 2015, April 18, Weekend Post)
“[...] further observation was that the authorities, by failing to enforce regulations, so drawing the ire of locals, had allowed certain elements in the foreigner communities to take over key areas such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg, Bellville, and markets in public spaces, provoking South African citizens” (Khoisan, 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).
“We obviously don't want to have an unplanned, reckless influx of unknown numbers of foreign nationals for reasons that are not particularly clear” (Malatji, 2015, April 17, Sowetan).
“By all appearances, the government lacks the will to reverse the influx of foreign citizens. As much as its management is out of control, the problem is likely to have become irreversible” (Booyesen, 2015, April 19 Sunday Independent, April 20, Sunday Tribune).
“From a policy perspective, the vexing question is, why does South Africa maintain open borders to citizens from Africa? Is it selective enforcement of both border and immigration control and law enforcement? Is it lack of capacity and ineptitude?” (Booyesen April 19, 2015, April 20, Sunday Independent, Sunday Tribune).
“Democratic Alliance MP Haniff Hoosen, who blamed home affairs' failure to invest in, and secure, the nation's borders and manage migration into SA as the source of the unrest” (April 30, 2015, Business Day).
“[...]and that our country's porous borders exacerbate the illegal immigration problem” (Sunday Times (6), 2015, April 19).

The *government* or *the authorities* are placed in the responsibility of knowingly having missed to act as a *controlling* element against *migration*. *Borders* and *the government* are directly connected like managers to the doors of their businesses. *Migrants* are *swelling*, *thousands* of them *flocking*, in this way described as an uncontrollable quantity silently appearing or as mass extending into an *unplanned, reckless influx of unknown numbers of foreign nationals*. The expression *certain elements in the foreigner community* depicts a being almost reduced to its biology yet unknown which *is taking*



over areas like a Virus spreading in the body. *The management is out of control*, augmenting to an *irreversible problem or the illegal immigration problem*. Thus, there appears to be a one- way street requiring radical and firm decisions to prevent being trapped in its consequences. *Government and home affairs* are again questioned regarding successfully completing their jobs, whether due to inability or carelessness.

The next step goes beyond announcing the arrival of the so-called *illegals*. Rather this step addresses the need to make them *return to their countries*. It is unclear which countries are included. A *lawful manner* as defined guideline of conductance suggests a certain treatment, which is respecting the official rules of the country, thus standing in opposition to the expatriate unlawfulness, but without further explaining it.

“Those who are in the country **illegally** should **be reported to the police** and they will be returned to their countries of origin in a lawful manner,” he said (Cape Argus April 13, 2015, African News Agency 13, 2015, Cape Times, Cape Argus April 15, 2015).

Governmental unites and ministries frequently and extensively become personified units, with a natural attached responsibility to take care as the *helping* hand of issues through regulations and applying security measurements.

“the government should send **foreigners** back home” (Savides & Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times).

The government must help us. The time has come **for everyone** to go back to his country and we will remain in ours. Let us expose **lice in our blankets** and let them fall off by themselves. We are asking foreigners to pack their bags and leave (Malefane, 2015, April 13, Sowetan).

He then urged the police to **apply the law firmer** [sic] and catch **those who violate the country's laws coming from outside** and return them to where they come from [...]” (Savides & Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times).

We would be ignorant if we failed to acknowledge that there are **those who enter our country through poor border control or just through illegal means** (Soobramoney 2015, April 15 Annipen April 19, 2015,)

**These individuals must be apprehended and deported.** (Soobramoney 2015, April 15 Annipen April 19, 2015)

In this context, expatriate are equalized with *lice*, thus again with a plague, which has to be eliminated. The rhetoric is that *everybody* has to *go*. Who is *everybody* though? The demands aim towards the *police catching them and the government sending them home*. *Being cached* is being the quarry and *being sent* means turning into a commodity. *Deported* is an even stronger expression directed in the same way. Who is *them* and what *home* or what is *where they come from* is not further elaborated. *We would be ignorant if we failed to acknowledge* is suggesting that there is a rational point of view one has to take in order to properly see the picture and take decisions accordingly.

The security frame keeps migration connected to state order and lawfulness. It is the illegality of the migrant which decides over his or her worthiness of protection. *Illegality* is equal to *crime*. Enjoying certain conditions somebody is not legally entitled to, is presented as taking claims of humanity and the right to be protected.

"There are instances in which ... people come from countries which are not engaged in wars but they claim **refugee status**" (Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan).

"The peace and security resolutions also noted "there is empirical evidence that most **asylum seekers** do not qualify for **refugee status and protection**" (Merten 2015, April 17, The Star).

Being expatriate while having legal claims to be a *refugee* and *seek asylum* is a precondition for being accepted not only in front of the law, but even within the community of people.

Home Affairs chief operating officer Thulani Mavuso is cited:

"I am disappointed that no one has yet dealt with abuses of **refugee** legislation by means of falsified information which means they are in the country under false pretences. This also means it becomes even more difficult to **integrate immigrants** into communities as they are viewed as **illegal**" (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News).

The opinion of the Home Affairs chief operating officer that integration issues represent the ground for locals (violently) rejecting expatriates in case or suspicion that they are illegal, supports the need

for regulation in order to prevent criminal abuse of the right to stay in South Africa and the violence against it. Further the article as well indirectly cites Malusi Gigaba, at this time Minister of Home Affairs:

“Gigaba cautioned South Africans to desist from associating all immigrants with crime. ‘If South Africa has a problem of crime then we need to say so. We must say to the police how are you dealing with crime? If we improve relations with our neighboring countries to be able to share information such as fingerprints in cases where there is a crime scene and the fingerprints here don't match any South African, we must be able to check elsewhere’” (April 1, 2015, Pretoria News).

In line with the same argumentation, although rejecting a connection to all expatriate as *illegals* and therefore criminals, measurements of control are named to be activated in order to detect those who are.

“But this time he emphasised the illegal immigrants and called on the Swaziland government to stop illegal immigrants from using their country as a route into South Africa” (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).

The already mentioned statement of the king is being repeated and recited extensively over the timespan of the whole month. Even though it appears as cited words, directly or indirectly and thus does not constitute the opinion of the author or the newspaper it forms into a cluster, repeatedly over weeks or months published. This cluster combines the attacks, as well as violence in general with the presence of foreigners. Additionally, the entire situation is again seen as a result of weak security.

He (Police Minister) said Zwelithini never said the foreigners should leave the country but stated that those that were undocumented should leave (Malefane 2015, April 13, Sowetan).

The attackers claimed they were acting on a mandate from Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini calling on foreign nationals to return to their homes because they were perpetuating crime in South Africa (Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age).

Adding fuel to the fire, according to some, was King Goodwill Zwelithini suggesting recently that foreigners involved in crime should be deported (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5)

The attack came a few days after King Goodwill Zwelithini made explosive xenophobic comments at a public meeting, urging the government to expel the foreigners (Olifant 2015 April 5, Sunday Times).
Buthelezi said King Zwelithini was referring to foreigners who were involved in drug trafficking and in crime (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).

The established link between the presents of expatriates, which leads to violence and so indirectly creating a threat to national security and order finds continuation even articles, which content primarily deals with the devastating situation expatriates find themselves after so called xenophobic attacks.

“Officials overwhelmed by displaced foreigners” (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan)
“government officials and chiefs were yesterday struggling to find accommodation for scores of people displaced by xenophobic violence in the province” (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan)
“More than 350 people have sought refuge from the Isiphingo police station” and police struggled to carry out their normal duties due to congestion at the station” (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan)
Police had their hands full, and had to use rubber bullets and tear gas to prevent clashes (between anti xenophobia marchers, foreigners stopped by unemployed locals) (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day).

As a consequence, the coverage about the misery of the victims leaves a sentiment of incapacity to deal with them and to care for them. Even though official measures are applied and security, police and military employed, the situation is depicted as having reached an unsolvable point. This is reinforced by expressions of being *overwhelmed*, *scores of people* as well as *police struggled* and *police had their hands full*. When the police are struggling, it means that the very core of a state's security is affected. *Having their hands full* implies that the means of generosity ran out of capacity. And this happens at a moment when South Africa is facing *a haunting specter of illegality* and *inferior elements* further *exacerbating the crisis* and *turning South Africa's largest cities into war zones*. This is a vocabulary putting the expatriate at the very bottom of society, maybe even underneath it and

consequently leading to their dehumanization. They are further described as *a tide of mayem and pandemonium*. Tide is an uncontrollable force of nature leaving behind nothing but chaos. *Mayem and pandemonium* is a tautology of the same disorder reinforcing each other. Even *the* minister of *Home Affairs* herself is doubting *her department's* capability due to a lack of means.

<p>“He [professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah] noted the haunting spectre of illegality that has brought the violence into the country's commercial centres, and turned South Africa's largest cities into war zones, and called for rigorous law enforcement to `stem the tide of mayhem and pandemonium` “(Khoisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).</p>
<p>“Prah [influential professor] was also unequivocal in his assessment of the role played by the South African authorities, including the police and military, along with the role played by Inefarious elements within foreigner communities in `exacerbating the crisis`” (Khoisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).</p>
<p>“Home Affairs Minister Fatima Chohan conceded that her department's inspectorate was under-resourced and said the violence was unacceptable” (April 30, 2015, Business Day).</p>

### II.1.1.3 The protection of the nation against the dangers of migration - expanding the security state

The applied rhetoric almost inevitably leads to a perceived danger, which reaches the core of the *nation*, whose political system *democracy* is foremost associated with its legal system. The failing juridical apparatus is seen as consequence of the expatriate unauthorized presence. Thus, there is a call for extended measures. *Safety and security* turn into key terms guiding the discourse. The unprotected *nation*, actually a term referring to the conglomerate of people dedicated to and bond to the same constitution is equalized with the territory and its borders. The modern nation is tied to its physical territorial foundation whereas the ideological, philosophical and ethical ideas defining the inner action of any democracy are pushed to the back. The expatriate physically invades the space and frightens the jurisprudence by his/her *illegality*.

"It goes without saying that whenever there is a breakdown in law, no matter the scale, the safety and security of an entire nation becomes of concern, threatening the very fundamentals of our fledgling democracy" (April 20, 2015, The Mercury).

"This is the same democracy that made provision for our borders to be opened when the ANC came into power in 1994, which consequently caused an influx of immigrants, many of whom were illegal, into the country" (The Mercury, 2015, April 20, The Mercury).

As continuation of this, discourse shows an intensified call on the government and respective departments to push forward extended securitization. *An immediate threat to South Africa's security and stability is demanding immediate intervention of various departments* later unified in a new formed special *task team*.

"the government itself is also battling with this issue of how to control our borders. The department of home affairs is the champion for setting up border management which will see the participation of other departments including the police" (Malefane 2015, April 13, Sowetan).

"This will ensure that we keep somewhat accurate records of those crossing our borders.

"This demands the immediate intervention of various government departments, particularly the Department of Home Affairs" (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).

"Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba and the rest of the task team assigned to counter the xenophobic attacks must respond with urgency" (Surujpal 2015, April 14, The Times).

The measures predominantly include an intensification of police presence: *Officers at all spots, law enforcement, officers mobilized from all around the country, a large contingent, greater visible policing, increased number of patrols, officers from the public order policing unit, an extra 800 officers, reinforcements, police is ready to deal, meant to stabilize, to defuse tension, deployed to beef up security, to curb the violence, to restore peace and stability*. The rhetoric here combines strong action and strong presence of control with stability and peace.

<p>“The police had officers at all the hot spots and were ready to deal with attacks on foreigners” (Makhaye 2015, April 8., Sowetan).</p>
<p>He continued: “Greater visible policing needs to be done, especially in the CBD of Isipingo” (Post (South Africa) 2015, April 8.).</p>
<p>“He said the CPF was working with the police to stabilise the situation” (Post (South Africa) 2015, April 8.).</p>
<p>Police spokesman Thulani Zwane said officers from the Public Order Policing Unit had been deployed to defuse tension.” (Mkhize 2015, 2015, Business Day).</p>
<p>“They have increased the number of patrols in the affected areas, which include Isipingo, Chatsworth and Umlazi” (Savides &amp; Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times).</p>
<p>“Police said yesterday an extra 800 officers had been deployed in Durban, where at least five people have died, including a 14-year-old, and more than a 1 000 immigrants have fled their homes” (The Star (South Africa) 2015, April 16).</p>
<p>“[...] additional police have been deployed to beef up security in all affected areas” (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail &amp; Guardian).</p>
<p>“National police commissioner General Riah Phiyega has deployed 800 police officers to restore peace” (Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“Meanwhile, provincial police commissioner Mmamonye Ngobeni yesterday said she had deployed reinforcements to areas hit by xenophobic attacks” (The Independent on Saturday (South Africa) 2015, April 11).</p>
<p>“KwaZulu-Natal provincial commissioner Lieutenant-General Mmamonye Ngobeni said police were doing everything in their power to restore peace and stability” (Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“Burger said the police should not be onlookers but needed to deploy a large contingent to the affected areas to curb the violence” (Hans, Padaachee, Ndenze, April 15, 2015, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>“Gigaba said more law enforcement officers were mobilised from around the country to prevent further attacks” (Hans, Padaachee, Ndenze, April 15, 2015, Pretoria News).</p>

Unless the extension of the security apparatus and further enforcements dominate the discourse, a few articles offer critical articulations. Critics address the problem of hypocrisy and distance between state and its citizens (*There is nothing like a cluster and especially if the cluster is made up of well-fed men in expansive suits*), the narrowness of a purely technical and thus superficial strategy towards peace (*why is there not yet formed a special ideological squad*), and finally as well fear of authority abuse from security forces. Interestingly, is the police minister transferring the guilt behind police officers

accused to unauthorized arrestment of Zimbabweans to *forces of regime change in other countries*, in which they are involved.

<p>“Great. There's nothing like a cluster to get a murderous mob to put down their pangas and listen. Especially if the cluster is made up of well-fed men in expensive suits” (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 19).</p>
<p>“Not yet formed a Special Ideological Squad that can subdue the rampaging scofflaws by offering them a cappuccino and two free lectures on The Importance of African Unity” (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 19)</p>
<p>“SA had ‘a horrific history’ and people in the army and police used to abduct and kill people in neighbouring countries. ‘The question that arises is do we still have that kind of culture in the police service. We may downplay this thing by saying they are Zimbabweans, but the fact is human life is human life’ Nhleko said” (Malefane 2015, April 13a, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“THE police officers who were involved in the rendition of Zimbabwean nationals must account for their actions, according to Police Minister Nathi Nhleko” (April 13, 2015, Sowetan).</p> <p>“Nhleko said he was expecting a report on April 24 on the rendition issue and was also awaiting a report from a reference group that was investigating the efficiency of the South African Police Service's management” (Malefane 2015, April 13a, Sowetan).</p> <p>“He said if those involved were not punished, SA would wake up one day to find that the democratic institutions it had built contained people who had been in cahoots with the forces of regime change in other countries” (Malefane 2015, April 13a, Sowetan).</p>

The following statements show the essence of this discursive frame. *Control* in the name of *protection* and *safety* wins over *movement* and freedom. Action ranges from stopping people from marching to restriction of their general autonomy. Eligibility to autonomy is only granted by papers and status. While determining the status or deportation, staying at a refugee camp is suggested as mandatory measure. *Proper assessment, verification* and *sanctioning* represent the demands of a well-organized state. The Police is *forced to act*.

<p>“Cops forced to act after clashes at Durban peace march” (Pillay 2015, April 17, The Herald)</p>
<p>“I understand that every person is entitled to march but we still have to protect people's lives” (City Manager, justification for dissolving protest march)” (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day).</p>



<p>“Security policies contain ‘processes of verifying documents’ (April 5, 2015, Sunday Tribune), guarantying ‘the situation was under control with mobile units set up to patrol the area and ensure the safety of all concerned’ (April 5, 2015, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“We must ensure that we conduct a census of all foreigners within South Africa and either deport those who are here illegally or provide them with some status that grants them protection from the current xenophobic violence we are experiencing” (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“He said this problem had been discussed in the talks yesterday, ‘and we said we must find ways of controlling the movement of people which have not been sanctioned’” (Frabricius, April 9, 2015, Pretoria News; Frabricius 2015, April 9, The Star)</p>
<p>“‘We must discuss that. We must find ways of controlling people,’ Mugabe said(Frabricius, April 9, 2015, Pretoria News; Frabricius 2015, April 9, The Star)</p>
<p>‘When foreigners come here and claim refugee status, government must take them to refugee camps and conduct a proper assessment of their status,’ said South African Mining Development Association president Peter Temane (Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“So we should control our borders, put all illegal foreigners into camps” (Angoma &amp; Kelvin 2015, April 17, The Star).</p>

A direct connection is drawn between the physical freedom of the expatriate (them *walking in here and going to townships*) and the violence applied on them. The argumentation of a *clear relationship of communities and the refugee communities* if the latter were in camps, evokes the image of separation. However, it seems more like a clear cut, thus a relationship of no relation. Having refugees in camps is meant to facilitate *documentation*, a necessary action of democratic bureaucracy and a legal system. *Living in camps is not natural* as the cited statement expresses. Still, a certain vision of order and protection appears to be more important.

<p>"The only thing that you can educate people on is when there are refugee camps and there is a clear relationship of communities and the refugee communities" (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail &amp; Guardian).</p>
<p>“African refugees walk in here and go to townships predominantly and there's a scramble for resources there and the tension takes the form of afrophobia” (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail &amp; Guardian)</p>

"I think it was a good gesture for us to say people must **live naturally**, but ultimately we must have **refugee** camps so that we can document people" (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian)

**ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe** says people must be educated on the issue of "afrophobia". Mantashe also believes the solution to the so-called xenophobia in the country is establishing **refugee camps**" (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian)

#### II.1.1.4 The demand for control – unifying legislation, executive and population

Firstly, it is expressed in unspecific news sections as well as those presenting personal opinions. In each of the statements *the government* is criticized for being able, active or *having lost* its power to establish general order. *Out of control* and *irreversible* depict urgent and almost lost situations. General *management, enforcement, control, law and order* and further *drastic and urgent measures* again dominate the possible range of actions. The result is *influx of foreign nationals* also framed as *people taking advantage*.

"By all appearances, **the government** lacks the will to reverse the **influx of foreign citizens**. As much as its **management is out of control**, the problem is likely to have become irreversible" (Booyesen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)

"From a policy perspective, the vexing question is, why does **South Africa** maintain **open borders** to **citizens from Africa**? Is it **selective enforcement of both border and immigration control and law enforcement**? Is it **lack of capacity and ineptitude**?" (Booyesen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).

"We would be ignorant if we failed to acknowledge that there are **those who enter our country through poor border control or just through illegal means**" (Booyesen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).

"It took then **president Thabo Mbeki** nearly two weeks to take drastic and urgent measures, including deploying **members of the South African National Defense Force**" (Runji 2015, April 16, Sowetan).

"I like what Mr Mantashe is saying about their entry into this country and communities being controlled makes **a lot of sense**" (Mbewu 2015, April 18, Independent on Saturday).

"We haven't learnt anything since 2008. The South African government has lost its power to enforce law and order in the country. They have lost control and people are taking advantage" (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).

The last statement is a citation of a Minorities Front Spokesman. The Minority Front is a political party representing ethnic minorities in SA, predominantly the Indian population in Durban. It could be interpreted singularly as a general demand towards stricter official action and regulations of society. However, looking at the second statement and its direction towards specifically targeting and expelling *these individuals*, it gets clear that expatriate are set in the focus. Even comments focusing on the expatriate, their strive for the better and their vulnerable situation while being confronted to the xenophobic violence simultaneously ask for top-down solutions. Since the country is facing a *wave of senseless attacks*, there is demand for a force working against a considered *senseless wave*, *these individuals*, suggesting *illegals must be deported*. The expatriate are again *nameless* or *simply defined by their legal status*. To deport them is not a question of the expatriate fault, but simply a question of *order*, now necessary due to *carelessness of our borders*. Caring for a systematic boundary appears to be more important than the caring for the human.

"These individuals must be apprehended and deported" (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)

"He was referring to the deportation of illegals because the way he started off was a question of carelessness of our borders," said Nhleko. (Hans & Ngubane April 20, 2015, The Mercury; Hans 2015, April 20, The Star)

"Today is one of the latter days. South Africa has been putting a plaster over the seeping wound that is xenophobia for too long, and earlier this week, the inaction on the part of the government sparked a wave of senseless attacks against foreigners, fellow Africans, who left their homelands in search of a better future" (Jones 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).

"Robin Phillips, of the Roman Catholic Church, urged communities in SA and the authorities not to allow the xenophobic attacks to reach the 2008 levels when 62 people were killed (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day).

“We are dealing with an urgent crisis. We need a more coherent and decisive response from the government” (Ingrid Palmay, an associate professor at the Wits African Centre for Migration and Society) (Nair, Savides, Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times).

“Associations of foreign nationals said their greatest fear was the lack of protection” (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News).

Even religious, scientific and civic circles consider the situation to be very critical, either naming it *urgent crisis*, creating *fear*. Or they indirectly expressing demand for urgent measures through placing the *xenophobic attacks* as almost independent personified force *which should not reach certain levels*. All three ask for *governmental response, protection and authority*.

Furthermore, expatriate are named and cited telling their stories of how having been *rescued* by the *police*, the only *help* in situations of life-threatening violence.

“‘If the police were not nearby I would have died’ he said” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).

“He said he was rescued by policemen who arrived and threw teargas at the crowd. He was later taken to hospital, where he was treated and stitched” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).

“Oshwald's friend, who did not want to reveal his name, said Oshwald ran away and called for help. Fortunately the police were there, and rescued him” (Makhaye 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday).

Finally, a professor of Governance, I Booysen, is given a platform *claiming* the *non-existence* of *government repertoires* against sweeping *xenophobia*. He further calls immigration policies being of *limited control*, responsible for *paperless foreigners*. By this he is as well transferring responsibility on state officials.

To be sure, it gave a formidable display of what can be done if political will arrives. The week's concerted government actions and declarations contrasted with non-existent government repertoires when xenophobic cases of the past six years had been swept under the community protest carpe (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Booyesen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent)

The ANC government obviously does not "design" its policy of open borders with a view to getting paperless foreigners to come and help share blame for delivery deficits. But it is certainly one of the de facto effects of the

policy of limited control of immigration from African countries (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Booyesen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent)

Towards the second half of the month newly established or reorganized security departments and subsequent operations are announced through citing official statements. The transformations are called as *rightful* and *progress*. Defined objectives are to *enhance the capacity to curb illegal migration, to curb border crime activities, tackle challenges of illegal and undocumented migrants, prevent security threats, enforce laws and by-laws to curb the growth of illegal trading and unlicensed shops, to prevent crime, to prevent boarder crime activities, illegal border crossings and to coordinate all security measures*. The entire set of aims circles around (illegal) migration and criminal activities associated with it. Structurally, *governance and administration* are directed towards *security and migration* in form of a *crime prevention cluster*. Newly established agencies are a *security department, a national joint operation center* as well as a *border management agency*. In order to do so, *home affairs* receive more staff. At the same time, *members of the South African national defense force* including *350 soldiers* find new occupation as *migration officers*. The discursive narrative establishes a strong and clear relation between *migration, crime and security* in its most official frame.

"The Department of Home Affairs, which has largely been a governance and administration department, is being re-orientated into a security department and is being prepared to take its rightful place within the Justice and Crime Prevention Cluster (JCPS). As part of this re-engineering of the Department, 350 SANDF members are being transferred to the Home Affairs Department for deployment to various ports of entry as immigration officials to enhance the capacity to curb illegal migration" (Cape Argus, 2015, April 13; Lovesol 2015, April 13, Pretoria News).

"Furthermore, the SANDF has deployed military personnel along the border line in seven provinces to curb border crime activities and illegal border crossings" (Caparazio 2015, April 17, Sowetan; Cape Argus 2015, April 13; African News Agency 2015, Cape Times; Lovesol 2015, April 13, Pretoria News).

"The government is also making progress with establishing a Border Management Agency, which is a single entity that will manage the entire border environment and all ports of entry. The initiative will go a long way in

tackling challenges of illegal and undocumented migrants and will also prevent security threats, Zuma said” (Lovesol 2015, April 13, Pretoria News).
“[...] also been directed to enforce laws and by-laws to curb the growth of illegal trading and unlicensed shops which appeared to be of concern to citizens throughout the country” (Cape Argus 2015, April 14).
“PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma has announced the deployment of South African National Defence Force to work as immigration officers as well as helping at border lines across the country to prevent crime” (Caparazio 2015, April 17, Sowetan).
"In this regard, the SANDF will transfer 350 soldiers to Home Affairs, to work as immigration officers at border posts. Furthermore, the SANDF has deployed military personnel along the border line in seven provinces to prevent border crime activities and illegal border crossings," Zuma said. (Caparazio 2015, April 17, Sowetan).
“Dube said the National Joint Operation centre had been activated to co-ordinate all security measures for the week ahead” (Shaikh 2015, April 19a, TheSunday Tribune).
“The chickens of the de facto policy of open borders came home to roost. The president's parliamentary announcement of sharper border control confirmed the prevailing policy failure” (Boosyen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent; Boosyen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)
“Securing SA's borders will stem xenophobia” (April 17, 2015, The Star). (Headline) (Biccari & Park 2015, April 17, The Star)
“He was applauded by the crowd when he promised security would be tightened, especially in Durban, as he said tip-offs had been received about some groups that wanted violence to continue” (Ntuli, Manda and Regchan 2015, April 17, The Mercury).

The discourse thus leads to the conclusion that insecurity offers the ground for violence. In reverse, *securing SA's borders will stem xenophobia*. Borders like a bulwark will break *xenophobia*. The logic applied is, no expatriate - no xenophobia. The discourse is not trying to understand and create a peaceful and meaningful transformation of social phenomena creating violence and separation. This attitude is similar to putting blinders on a horse's head to not make it see, while at the same time the reality around will not disappear or change. The reality is, humans are moving. *He* (President Zuma) is described as being celebrated when guaranteeing more control. A statement like this is reaffirming a perceived desire for security.

The ANC follows the same path and official statements resulting from a conference are spread through the media. Again, it is *tougher border control and criminalization which* are advanced. The following publication uses quotation marks in order to mark a neutral recitation of a statement. Nevertheless, it is only this official phrasing which remains as assertion of the article, whereas no opposing or challenging statement nor a more profound examination is made.

<p>"Xenophobic attacks continued this week, with the defence force coming to the police's aid" (April 24, 2015, Mail&amp;Guardian).</p>
<p>"On Tuesday, Zuma and some of his security colleagues decided that the police minister may have miscalculated the situation and the army was deployed in Nhleko's absence. This was a glaring indication of the rift within the security cluster and Cabinet over how to handle the xenophobic attacks" (April 24, 2015, Mail&amp;Guardian).</p>
<p>"State Security Minister David Mahlobo - who was also acting police minister in Nhleko's absence - wrote to Mapisa-Nqakula requesting the army's help in volatile areas in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal affected by xenophobic violence. They persuaded Zuma, as commander-in-chief, to authorise the deployment and within hours there were boots on the ground" (April 24, 2015, Mail&amp;Guardian).</p>
<p>"We are not here to take over the work of the police. We are coming in because there is a crisis; we are coming in because the police asked us to help," Mapisa-Nqakula told reporters on Tuesday" (April 24, 2015, Mail&amp;Guardian).</p>

Towards the end of the month the idea to establish permanent refugee camps is evolving throughout the discourse. Refugee camps can be interpreted as final stage of restricting movement and self-agency. Simultaneously mentioned is *the presence of undocumented* and that *most foreign nationals were undocumented* respectively. Although the plan reveals controversy, it is seen as a strategy of establishing order.

<p>"Yet, Mantashe simply articulated the 2012 Mangaung ANC conference resolutions, which state: "The government should reconsider its policy relating to centres for asylum seekers during consideration of their status", and "the presence of undocumented migrants poses an economic and security threat to the country" (Merten 2015, April 17).</p>
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“AMID the ANC's denunciation of this week's violence against foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal, controversy erupted over ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe's public comments that South Africa should establish camps at its borders, and that most foreign nationals were undocumented” (Merten 2015, April 17, Pretoria News; Merten 2015, April 17, The Star)

“SA needs refugee camps. After the xenophobic attacks this weekend, ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe says people must be educated on the issue of "afrophobia". Mantashe also believes the solution to the so-called xenophobia in the country is establishing refugee camps” (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian).

“Although the Lindela repatriation centre is the awaiting-deportation facility for undocumented immigrants, there is no current policy of encampment pending processing” (Cape Argus 2015, April 17)

### II.1.1.5 Vulnerability as precondition of eligibility for protection and the application of Human Rights

In general, the discourse displays frequent notions of Human rights concerns. It shows awareness about the countries own constitutional obligations. *Rights should be protected for both citizens and foreigners.* Further exploration of the argumentation within the frame presents the ideological application of this objective. *No person may be refused entry, expelled or extradited, or returned to any other country if they have a well-founded fear of being persecuted or their physical safety is threatened.* It refers to those, who come to our country seeking asylum because of the unstable political climate within their own countries/ those, who come through our borders as refugees because of natural disasters and other elements that threaten their well-being and safety/ who [have] fled wars and persecution in their own countries. Thus, application of these rights refers to those, who have a valuable claim to demand them. Signs of eligibility are a threat to *safety, persecution, instability, wars and torment.* In short, in order for the expatriate to be eligible to receive protection according to a conceptualization of human rights, a position of *vulnerability* appears to be the requirement.



<p>“As a government, we must ensure that the rights of these individuals, as enshrined in the constitution of South Africa, are protected” (Annipen 2015, April 19, The Sunday Tribune)</p>
<p>“Our constitution is a global benchmark of how rights should be protected for all in our country - both citizens and foreigners. We are also a signatory to international conventions on refugee rights.” (Hartle 2015, April 4b, Daily Dispatch).</p>
<p>“Our law states emphatically that no person may be refused entry to South Africa, or expelled or extradited, or returned to any other country if they have a well-founded fear of being subjected to persecution or their physical safety is threatened” (Hartle 2015, April 4b, Daily Dispatch).</p>
<p>“We must also be aware of the fact that there are those who come into our country seeking asylum because of the unstable political climate within their own countries” (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“We must also be reminded that there are those who come through our borders as refugees because of natural disasters and other elements that threaten their well-being and safety” (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“Some of the immigrants who have taken refuge in South Africa have fled wars and persecution in their own countries. Our duty is to protect them and not subject them to further torment” (The Sunday Independent 2015, April 19a).</p>
<p>“The government would continue to provide support to refugees and asylum seekers as required in terms of international law and the country's own constitution which enshrines human rights and dignity, the Presidency added” (Cape Argus 2015, April 13, 2015; African News Agency 2015, April 13, Cape Times).</p>

One single article tries to trace actual numbers of expatriate coming to South Africa. The statement saying *many also bring with them critical skills that they wish to share with South Africans and motivation to contribute to our society*, is one of the few putting them into a human, positive and capable light.

<p>“According to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, in July last year there were about 310,000 refugees and asylum seekers in SA. This number is expected to be more than 330,000 by the end of this year. Most of the asylum seekers are from African countries stricken by war or other crises, including Zimbabwe, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Eritrea, Somalia, Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Rwanda. Whether escaping conflict or seeking better economic conditions, most of them arrive carrying little more than hope for the future and the dream of a better life for their families. Many also bring with them critical skills that they wish to share with South Africans and a motivation to contribute to our society” (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day).</p>
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Another single one makes the efforts to approach the situation from a more comprehensive historical vision. The important messages to be highlighted are: South Africa is a *multi-class, multi-cultural society, with a multitude of origins*. Furthermore, it reminds of SA historical path to peace, inclusiveness and a constitution based on human rights. The constitution thus was *jointly drafted* and meant to be the minimum standards of a recently reborn *nation*. It calls on *tolerance* towards *diversity*, as well as *traditions* and *cultural norms* that are supposed to be harmful on the *ethos of human rights*. Consequently, the argumentation aims for acknowledging *other Africans* in its rights to demand protection due to *well-founded fear of being persecuted* for a number of reasons and furthermore that there is no reason to *fear* others. Additionally, the article reminds on the legal bases on obtaining *refugee status*, which as well many South Africans received during Apartheid in other countries. Most importantly are the statements: *In most instances, refugees were confined to specific areas where they lived. Our decision as a nation, however, was to integrate refugees into communities so they live as normal a life as possible*. Finally, through saying: *We need to assert the right of all South Africans to live wherever they choose or please*, the viewpoint on every person living in South Africa to be considered to be a South African.

“South Africa is a multi-class, multi-cultural society with people from a multitude of origins. The majority is indigenous to the geographic space we occupy, whereas others came as colonists, slaves, labourers, **refugees** fleeing from persecution and so on.

In 1990, we made a decision to end strife in our country. The ANC chose to end the armed struggle and negotiate with our enemies with the aim of creating a nation; a people diverse in their languages, cultural expressions and racial appearance. We decided our nascent nation would become a beacon of hope.

We jointly drafted a constitution, which laid out the minimum standards by which we would build our nation.

**Human rights and the need for a tolerant society, given our diversity, were thought of as the ethos of this nation.**

**We cannot and** must not lose sight of this as we move forward. We acknowledge the negative impact of patriarchy on the lives of women” **O**.

We must challenge the tradition and cultural norms that are harmful to the development of any person or community as not representing the ethos of human rights we fought for.

So too, as South Africans, the fear of other Africans and the deliberate mismanagement of their rights as human beings is wrong. A **refugee** is a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, lives outside their country of birth.

Each country has systems by which it accords **refugee** status to such vulnerable individuals. It is expected of the **refugee**, having sought asylum in a foreign country, to apply for such status.

The laws governing our country enable this process upon application. Although it often takes time, as it does in most countries, South Africa has been home to **refugees** from Mozambique, Burundi, the DRC, Somalia and other African countries where there was or is conflict. When our own war was ongoing we were given **refugee** status in Angola, Botswana, Egypt, Libya, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and many other African as well as European and Asian countries.

The South Africans who lived in exile were subjected to the rule of law of the country they were accepted in.

Those who were able to work did so in terms of the work permits granted to **refugees** in those countries.

In most instances, **refugees** were confined to specific areas where they lived. Our decision as a nation, however, was to integrate **refugees** into communities so they live as normal a life as possible.

We need to assert the right of all South Africans to live wherever they choose or please" (Duarte 2015, Pretoria News; April 15, 2015, Duarte 2015, April 15, The Star).

Within the statements presented at the beginning of the human rights frame twice, the appeal that *we must also be aware* or *we must also be reminded*, is expressed. It gives the impression that South African's usual stance is to not believe in the existence of severe push factors leading most expatriate to make the decision to move. At the same time there is a sense of African solidarity visible in the statement mentioning *south –south co-operation and pan-Africanism*. The limits of obliged generosity though are shown through the expression *of course we have a political and human responsibility but not to the point where we bring chaos and instability to our own country*. Human Rights are shown to be bound by restrictions and tied to conditions.

The resolutions, which firmly place the ANC on the side of South-South co-operation, pan-Africanism and strong relations with the African Union, also recognize "the rights of international migrants as a vulnerable group of persons and the responsibilities that they have towards their host country" (April 17, 2015, The Star).

Of course, we have a political and human responsibility to help other African countries, but not to the point where we bring chaos and instability to our own country (Cape Argus 2015, April 17; Merten 2015, April 17, Pretoria News; Merten 2015, April 17, The Star).
We must also be aware of the fact that there are those who come into our country seeking asylum because of the unstable political climate within their own countries (Cape Argus 2015, April 17; Merten 2015, April 17, Pretoria News; Merten 2015, April 17, The Star).
We must also be reminded that there are those who come through our borders as refugees because of natural disasters and other elements that threaten their well-being and safety (Malatji 2015, April 17, Sowetan)

### II.1.1.6 Victimization -picturing the expatriates in endless states of misery

The human rights frame is one side of the two faces of the same frame. Victimization represents the other one. The case of so called Elizabeth\* narrated in one article offers the whole range of imagery and storyline defining victimization. The women's personal story guides the reader through a raw of miserable circumstances starting in her country of origin, which she left after having lost her husband and for searching the better. This land of green grass has then turned into personal deprivation, while sending every cent home to the children the mother barely sees. Physically and emotionally suffering she works under the conditions of economic exploitation, just to then end up fleeing xenophobia and being detained in a camp with the prospect of deportation, making the long preceding attempts for constant refugee status obsolete. Her example is the one given a real name and face, serving as front picture of a whole discourse.

<p>"BEING exiled is not an easy choice. Consider the case of Elizabeth*.</p> <p>She was forced to flee the relative comfort of her home in a country in the Great Lakes region in the middle of the night with her three children, after her shopkeeper husband was brutally killed in an army operation in their village.</p> <p>They walked for weeks on end, eventually ending up in a refugee camp in a neighbouring country.</p> <p>Elizabeth left her children in the care of her mother-in-law and made the arduous journey to South Africa, where she obtained refugee status and now does domestic work.</p>
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She may be able to apply for permanent residence status in a couple of years, but fears approaching the Department of Home Affairs in case her application is declined and she is repatriated to her "home" country. She has no guarantee that her children can join her if her permanent residency is confirmed after five years. More recently, she has been seriously ill and, while receiving treatment from a hospital, her concerns have grown about ever having a "normal" life with her family. Her lifestyle is extremely modest. She tries to save almost all she earns to repatriate to her family, that she has not seen in many years and with whom she stays in touch when she is able to set money aside for a long distance phone call. She exists on the periphery of her bustling adopted city, hoping never to attract the attention of hate-filled South Africans who lack respect for the law or the communitarian idea of ubuntu we claim to hold dear. She is permanently heartbroken, but masks the pain of exile and the separation from her loved ones behind a wide smile. Why would Elizabeth and thousands of other such African foreigners continue to stay in this unwelcoming nation, rather than return to refugee camps on the borders of their home country, or even to a life of subjugation in their places of birth? A decision to return to horrific former conditions may signal that one has relinquished all hope of salvaging life for oneself and one's children. - Ray Hartle

\* Elizabeth is not her real name. The sketchy details are to protect her identity" (Hartle 2015, April 4, Daily Dispatch 3).

In line with the same script, a long list of coverage represents the death of expatriate as result of the so-called xenophobic attacks, ranging from impersonal mentioning of the killings to actual personal appearances of names, as well as professions and relations. The victims are named as *foreigners* (*), two foreigners, five foreigners, 350 foreigners, 120 foreign nationals, thousands of people, 62 people, 62, at least 62, at least 100 Somalis* as well as *unclear how many foreigners, outsiders or 'foreign nationals'*. There are even more vague descriptions, such as *those who have been killed* or additionally attributed with qualities like *innocent people*, further emphasizing the of victimhood. *The dead* constitute a further category. Death here serves as a substitution of the former physically alive individual. Talking of deaths strips the dead of all their human features: *two deaths four deaths, 140 deaths, five confirmed deaths, two xenophobia related deaths*. More personal are accounts mentioning *Africans and Asians of foreign origin. Hundreds of people, including Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, "my brother because he was a foreign national" "abubakar ali, 40, is among an*

*estimated 357 foreigners.*” Notable in general is that the dead mostly remain nameless. They are in their status as in whatever position not entirely South Africans. Or there are mentioned numbers, which will just be recalled in the connection of the cause which killed them. The few individuals mentioned by their names almost disappear within the countless deaths.

Other reports talk about people having died: Here the victims are grouped as *four people, five people, at least four people, three foreign nationals, foreigners, two males, he, helpless Sithole, two Ethiopian brothers, two of their countrymen (Congolese)*. The verb dying is even more salient. At the same time, the wording creates a less dramatic and sensational way of representation.

“Foreigner was killed in KwaMakhutha (April 10, 2015, The Mercury). “Four people have reportedly died in the attacks” (Manda 2015, April 11, Independent on Saturday).
“AFTER a fresh outbreak of xenophobic attacks in Umlazi yesterday, following a week in which four people have died” (Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, Cape Argus; The Independent on Saturday, Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, Cape Argus),
“On Friday night two Ethiopian brothers were locked in their shop, which was then petrol-bombed. One of the men died in hospital” (Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times).
“Thousands of foreigners are in transit camps after three weeks of violence in which five people are believed to have died” (Nair, et. al., 2015, April 14, The Herald).
At least four people have died (Hans, Padaachee and Ndenze 2015, April 15, Pretoria News), “where at least five people have died, including a 14-year-old” (The Star 2015, April 16).
“Three foreign nationals and two South Africans - including a 14-year-old boy gunned down in Ntuzuma during looting on Monday night - have died” (Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan).
“the families of the five people who died in the attacks (April 17, 2015, The Star, The Mercury), ‘The numbers suggest that the 62 people who died in 2008 does not compare to all the people who have died every year since’ (The Star 2015, April 18).
He died at the scene” (The Star 2015, April 18,).
Two days later I attended two males who were attacked in the same settlement but they died in hospital. I don't know their names” (Nene 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune).
Five people have died since vigilantes started looting and attacking shops owned by immigrants” (Staff Report & Daily Mail 2015, April 19, Sunday Independent).

“The Sunday Times yesterday ran pictures of a man stabbing a helpless Sithole, who later died from the wounds” (Savides & Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times),
“He later died from his wounds” (Makhubu 2015, April 21, Cape Times; Makhubu 2015, April 20, The Star).
“The Congolese were shocked and confused, he said, especially because five of their countrymen had already died (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News).

It is a situation of powerlessness the expatriate are described to be in. Either there is a note of them having silently passed away without the readers knowing what their lives have been before or what happens to their bodies afterwards. Or there has been a death *after a fresh outbreak of xenophobic attacks, after three weeks of violence, in the attacks*. All these situations are unspecific and dominated by a force which has become independent from humans, with its own reasoning and aims. A few articles though describe the scene of death more specifically. For example, in the case of the Ethiopians in the petrol bombing of their shop and the passing of one of the brothers in a hospital. Here the *hospital*, only mentioned two times in total, is one of the few places other than the informal ones, namely *at the scene* of the settlements, the streets, the camps, the unknown, barely picturable environment of expatriate and locals in townships. More detailed, shocking as well maybe sensational descriptions depict specific groups of foreigners *being hound, people being hacked, stabbed, shot and burnt to death, a Zimbabwean genitally mutilated, stabbed 21 times in the neck and upper body, until cutting the top of his penis off, as well as a man's throat being slit [and] his head smashed*.

“A police spokesman said he could confirm that two foreigners who have been killed” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).
“There have been five confirmed deaths” (Savides & Tepetepu 2015, April 13, The Times).
“Five foreigners were stabbed and assaulted when two shops were looted” (Nair 2015, April 16, April 16, Sowetan).
“innocent people are attacked and killed” (Makhaye 2015, April 1, the Sowetan).
“More than 350 foreigners killed” (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).

<p>“Police spokesman Thulani Zwane said he was only aware of two xenophobia-related deaths in Chatsworth” (Manda 2015, April 10, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“A police spokesman said he could confirm that two foreigners who have been killed” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“He said a foreigner was killed in KwaMakhutha yesterday morning (Manda 2015, April 10; The Mercury), It was unclear how many foreigners had been killed and injured in the gruesome attacks” (Manda 2015, April 10; The Mercury)</p>
<p>“The DA Shadow Deputy Minister of Police, MP Zakhele Mbhele, on Friday called for urgent government intervention to quell the xenophobic violence that led to at least four deaths this week” (Attwood 2015, April 12a, Sunday Tribune)</p>
<p>“The DA extends heartfelt condolences to the families of those who have been killed and affected by the looting and violence’, he said” (Attwood 2015, April 12a, Sunday Tribune)</p>
<p>“In May 2008, 62 people were killed in xenophobic violence which shook the country” (Cape Argus 2015, April 18)</p>
<p>“2011 - 120 foreign nationals killed - five burnt alive, 100 seriously injured, 1 000 displaced, 120 shops closed” (Bega 2015, April 18, The Star).</p>
<p>“2012 - 140 deaths, 250 serious injuries” (Bega 2015, April 18, The Star).</p>
<p>“Misago noted that since the dawn of democracy, tens of thousands of people had been harassed, attacked or killed just because of their status as “outsiders” or foreign nationals” (Bega 2015, April 18, The Star)</p>
<p>“They took everything from me and killed my brother because he was a Somali national (Bega 2015, April 18, The Star)</p>
<p>“These were the words of Malawian Yusuf Jake who, together with two friends, was almost killed during a xenophobic attack at his Crossmoor, Chatsworth, home earlier this month” (The Sunday Independent 2015, April 19).</p>
<p>“For three weeks now, Africans and Asians of foreign origin have been hunted down, killed and maimed and had their businesses looted and burnt down by gangs of xenophobes” (Sunday Times 6, 2015, April 19).</p>
<p>“In 2008, at least 62 people were killed, 670 wounded, dozens raped and more than 100000 displaced”; “Since mid-2008, almost every month there has been at least one attack on groups of foreigners; Between mid-2009 and late 2010, at least 20 foreigners were killed , In 2011, at least 120 foreigners were killed (five of them burnt alive), 100 were seriously injured , In 2012, there were 140 deaths and 250 serious injuries.” (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times)</p>
<p>“Abubakar Ali, 40, is among an estimated 357 foreigners killed during xenophobic violence over the past seven years” (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times)</p>
<p>“More than 350 foreigners killed - but only one murder conviction” (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times)</p>



<p>“Police say six people have been killed and scores injured or forced to flee their homes [...] targeting mainly Somali and other African immigrants” (Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“The most notable one was in 2008, when 62 people were killed and more than 150 000 displaced” (The Mercury 2015, April 20).</p>
<p>“This, while hundreds of people, including Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, lose their possessions, livelihoods, homes and suffer injury and death” (Runji 2015, April 17, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>Asked if he had considered returning home, Mudzeni said: "I thought about it, but how could I? There is nothing at home. There are no opportunities for jobs. If I go back I will starve to death but my family and myself are not safe here either" (Runji 2015, April 17, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>It has spread to Pietermaritzburg and Joburg where cases of intimidation and violence, including two deaths, were reported yesterday (Shaikh 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“People say, Shops are torched. Streets are barricaded. Tyres are set alight. Rocks become weapons. People are hacked, stabbed, shot and burned to death. Jubilant mobs hound Somalis, Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis from their homes and businesses” (Wilkinson 2015, April 17, Mail &amp; Guardian).</p>
<p>“The stench of burnt human flesh and fresh blood is nauseating. I attended to Zimbabwean, Vincent Shaba, 25, whose genitals were mutilated in a beating by the locals at Lusaka informal settlement on Good Friday” (Nene 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>"He was also stabbed 21 times in the neck and his upper body. They cut the top of his penis off. I think they were trying to remove" (Nene 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune)</p>
<p>“Holmes said the most gruesome scene was on Monday at about 1.30am when a man's throat was slit and his head smashed. "He died at the scene" (April 19, 2015, Sunday Tribune 4).</p>
<p>“The brutal killings of foreigners” (Nene 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“at least 100 Somalis had been killed since 2008, and only a few of those cases had gone to court” (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).</p>

The second focus related to the victimization frame within the xenophobia and migration coverage during the month of April concentrates on expatriate being exposed to the danger of the violence.

<p>The attacks in Isipingo, Malukazi and Umlazi, south of Durban, forced hundreds to flee to a police station after they were attacked in their homes and shops (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).</p>
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They are “fleeing their homes” (Makhaye 2015, April 1, Sowetan), furthermore “fleeing for their dear lives” (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan). FOREIGN nationals in Durban continued to flee their homes yesterday as a rumour spread that they would be wiped out today (Magubane 2015, April 8, Sowetan),
Fearful foreigners flee homes (Magubane 2015, April 8, Sowetan)
the worst week” of their lives after they were forced to flee to the Isipingo police station (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times),
between 1500 and 2000 foreigners - mainly Malawians, Zimbabweans, Ethiopians and Mozambicans - have been forced from their homes (Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times).
Thousands have been forced to flee their homes and livelihoods (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan)
In Pietermaritzburg, foreigners sought refuge at a mosque, fearing for their lives after being chased from their homes on Wednesday night since no refugee camps had been set up in the capital city (Mphande et. al. 2015, April 17, The Mercury)
A member of the mosque, who did not wish to be named, said most of the foreigners who sought refuge lived in the city or informal areas (Mphande et. al. 2015, April 17, The Mercury)
The community of about 300 people took refuge at a police station on Monday last week following the outbreak of violence in Isipingo and Malukazi (Olifant 2015, April 8, The Times)
Foreigners have been violently driven from their business premises and homes to live in camps because they are afraid for their lives (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune 4)
Foreign nationals were dragged through the streets and & necklaced& Thousands of innocent men, women and children with only the clothes on their backs found shelter in churches and mosques, with many living for months in temporary camps (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day)
During my visitor's stay, 46-year-old Lee Arumugam was forced to flee with his family from their Burnwood Road home in Durban after it was petrol-bombed, allegedly by his neighbours living in a shack settlement. The Arumugams were also targets of stones and an assortment of missiles. Two cars were damaged with impunity (Post (South Africa), 2015, April 8).
They have now abandoned their home, which they bought eight years ago and painstakingly modernised, for refuge with family in nearby Asherville, still nursing wounds of financial and emotional devastation. (Post (South Africa), 2015, April 8)

Being *forced to flee*, in order to save one's life and losing one's home leaves a human at the core of his or her existence. Fleeing means running from something which is threatening and not under the control of the ones affected by it. Important to mention is also the discursive evolution from *46-year-*

*old Lee Arumugam, foreign nationals to many foreigners to fearful foreigners until between 1500 and 2000 foreigners and thousands over the time span of a week. The rhetoric of fleeing, running away, is followed by the discourse of seeking refuge and thus the search for protection. Grammatically, both are active actions, nevertheless both do communicate a certain loss of control and a dependency on others. Dragged through the streets already shows signs of passiveness.*

<p>“Many foreigners were coming to seek accommodation [in the camps] (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury)</p> <p>“Several hundred foreign nationals sought refuge in, among other places, Chatsworth outside Durban, as xenophobic violence forced them to flee their homes (Attwood 2015, April 12, Sunday Independent).</p>
<p>“ Makelele, 22, is among hundreds of foreign nationals, mostly from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), who had to seek refuge at the Isipingo sports ground” (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“Explaining Makelele HAD to seek refugee implies the lack of choices his situation subsumed him. About 2000 foreign nationals, mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi, have sought shelter at the camp” (Mhlanza 2015, April 20, The New Age).</p>

### II.1.1.7 Passiveness - the reduction of expatriates to incapable unites of burden

Expatriate are portrayed as victims, dependent on the grace and help of others. *Accommodation, safe place, shelter, protection, basic services and food* need to be provided for expatriate. By adding that *property has been stolen* together with the repeated reporting of *looted shops* and poverty, complete powerlessness is becoming the expatriate marker.

<p>“They have come to their offices [police] to seek shelter and protection”, “[... now] will need accommodation as they are scared to return home because their property has been stolen” (Makhaye 2015, April 1, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“‘We have managed to identify a safe place for them to stay’, ‘we also ensure that they basic services as well as food’” (Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age).</p>
<p>“it must be done ‘everything possible to curb the xenophobic attacks and ensure it was safe for foreigners to return to their homes’” (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan).</p>

“He said about 400 people had arrived at the mosque on Wednesday night. They were accommodated in the hall and given carpets to sleep on. Muslim worshippers rallied together to provide food and blankets” (Ntuli, Manda, and Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury).

The activeness of seeking refuge increasingly steadily turns into passiveness:

Descriptions of the situation in the camps is similar to visualizing a movie scenery of apocalyptic conditions. It is the portrayal of a human catastrophe with no hope, leaving the expatriate as victims of their circumstances. *Human drama, unfolding human tragedy, desperate cry of a young child, fear and isolation, sickness, injury, pregnancy, fear of possible death, confusion of being disenfranchised, tiredness, blood-stained t-shirts, overcrowdings, dirty water, horrible condition, a snake.* The list of unbearable and inhuman conditions include a variety of physical threats, creating psychological desperation and leaving the expatriate in a passive situation of misery. At the same time, the detailed descriptions might create compassion. They are also likely to feed sensational desires. The pictures of children are the only source of *laugh* and *joy* - only one is crying. The reason for their mood is their *unawareness*, thus their ignorance. Soon they are going to see the desolate and hopeless world they have been born into.

“But the real human drama is in the camp” (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5).

“The desperate cries of a young child can be heard across a transit camp hastily established near Isipingo. They're a haunting reminder that within this tented environment, fear and isolation are part of an unfolding human tragedy marked by xenophobia and violence. The temporary camps have everyone from pregnant women to sick adults and children and people who have been injured during the current wave of attacks” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan)

“Chairman Lawrence Mushwana and his team visited the camps and found they were on land with dirty water that attracted flies. The camps were also over-crowded. Water taps and toilets were located about 300m away” (Malefane 2015, April 16, Sowetan).

“Mothers and fathers, while the fear of possible death and the confusion of being disenfranchised are etched on their tired faces, entertain children who, thankfully, are unaware of what's going on. Children laugh and parents find joy in their reactions. A few metres away, a mother lies on her mattress cuddling her newborn. Young men

clothed in blood-stained T-shirts, slip-slops and beanies, stroll through the masses of mattresses nursing what is currently the best part of their day: a polystyrene cup of hot tea" (The Independent on Sunday 2015, April 18).
"Buloze and her friend Noela Chikuru, 15 said the conditions at the camp were "horrible" (Nene 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).
"Chikuru from Democratic Republic of Congo, said she had seen a snake in the camp the other day." (Nene 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune 3)
"Things are tough at the camp" (Shaikh 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).

Reported compassion with expatriate also appears in relation to the expatriate difficult situations. Again, it is *scared men, women, children and families* passing from *brutalities and hardship* in their past to new violence, betrayed by a promised land of *civility, opportunities and hope*. The second statement is one of the few portraying expatriate in professional and academic environments, thus attributing them other features than poverty and/or being at the associated bottom of society. Nevertheless, their situations are defined as *horrific stories* and *Kafkaian situation*, a metaphor associating a state of incapacity towards an anarchistic chaos. Facing *work permits not renewed, visas refused, inability to register/to access money being entitled to*, is generating an image of poor animals in the cage of official inhuman procedures. The particular situation here is that they are in need of the mercy of a state, *turning previously legal migrants into illegal ones*. The accounts give the impression that being *university staff* or being *a student* favors the eligibility to receive official status and to blame it on the state when denied.

"I don't pray, but tonight my thoughts are with <i>scared men, women, children and families</i> who escaped the brutalities and hardships of their own countries to seek refuge in a civilized land of opportunities and hope (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday).
"A few weeks ago, I attended a meeting of 'foreign' staff at Wits University," he wrote. "Horrific stories after horrific stories. Work permits not renewed. Visas refused to family members. Children in limbo in schools. A Kafkaian situation that extends to 'foreign' students who entered the country legally, had their visas renewed all this time, but who now find themselves... unable to register, and unable to access the money they are entitled to

and that had been allocated to them by (education) foundations. Through its new anti-immigration measures, the government is busy turning previously legal migrants into illegal ones" (April 18, 2015, Cape Argus).

Vulnerability and passiveness continue to build a dominant frame the expatriate are mentioned in. *Shocked and confused, scared, worried, desperate, being shaken, really frightened, living in fear, feared being attacked* constitute the scale of emotional states of threat. Not knowing about the whereabouts of family and friends/ *when to expect attacks, sitting and waiting (it's like a time bomb), inability to say, helplessness* and *being at the receiving end* design the spectrum of being deprived from taking active care about one's own life.

"The Congolese were shocked and confused" (April 16, 2015, Pretoria News).

"Tashale Kassa, 25, who left Ethiopia 10 years ago and runs a shop in Joe Slovo, is worried about his brother in Johannesburg - whose shop there was looted and destroyed - and is preparing to travel there to find him." (April 17, 2015, The Herald 4).

"I'm scared, really scared by this thing and I'm worried about my brother as I don't know if he is dead or alive. I last spoke to him two weeks ago. I'm going there to see if he is alive or not." "When I came to South Africa, I was looking for freedom and a better life than the one I had at home, but I constantly live in fear for my life," Kassa said" (April 17, 2015, The Herald).

"Another Somali, Hussein Abdi Mursal, 29, said: 'We can't say we are not shaken by the recent xenophobic attacks because it is happening in different places in South Africa'" (April 17, 2015, The Herald).

"Of the xenophobia playing out in other parts of the country, Ikem said he was really frightened that it could spread here. 'We also don't know when to expect attacks on us here. It's like a time bomb; we're sitting and waiting for something to happen,' he said" (April 18, 2015, Cape Argus).

"DVDs, said foreigners from all countries were now living in fear in South Africa. 'South Africa is the only country on the continent that picks on other Africans. Whatever problems they have can't be solved by fighting. We all know what happened in 2008 and we are scared it will happen again,' he said" (April 18, 2015, Cape Argus).

"Malawian hairdresser Edith Samson said: 'I'm really scared by what I see happening in Durban, especially because I have two children'" (April 18, 2015, Cape Argus).

"The foreign nationals, most of whom are refugees who run shops and supermarkets in the townships, said they feared being attacked by the very people they lived with and served" (April 20, 2015, The Star).

"DESPERATE: Zimbabwean men at a camp for those affected by anti-immigrant violence in Chatsworth, north of Durban, queue to register to return home" (April 20, 2015, Sowetan).
"The refugees hardly slept for fear of being attacked in the night, and could not operate during the day or walk freely for fear of being targeted" (April 20, 2015, The Star).
"He said the refugees were powerless in the face of impending violence" (April 20, 2015, The Star).
"African and South Asian nationals have increasingly been at the receiving end of growing xenophobic undertones in the political rhetoric" (Post 2015, April 8a).

What has been indirectly suggested before is now expressed openly. The expatriate are relying on the protection of others. The *demand for help* or *gratefulness for being looked after* receives emphasized validation as it is expressed by the expatriate themselves and presented in direct citations.

"Please help us. They want to kill us," Ethiopian shop owner Aka Bob Amaha said. "We can't stay in our shops waiting for them to burn us (April 5, 2015, the Times).
"Fortunately, in our area, we have people who are looking out for us. As a result, we feel much safer." (April 17, 2015, The Herald 4).
"He urged people to spend the same amount of money they would on a dinner party on buying groceries for the foreigners" (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday).
"'Every day the amount of food becomes less and space becomes tighter for those seeking refuge, as attacked and displaced foreigners flock to the camp for protection'. Today (Thursday) we received two more Malawians," said David, "We eat rice, beans, bread and tea, but two pots for 500 people are not enough. So we are cooking from 7pm to midnight just so that people can eat that day" (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday).

There even is a public appeal on people to donate food for those in the camps. This together with descriptions of insufficient amounts of food in relation to are growing mass of expatriate in the camps highlights the state of emergency. *Rice, beans, bread and tea* are simple and basic alimony, thus representing again a situation of desperateness. Nevertheless, *food becomes less and space becomes tighter*. Being *displaced* is the result of a history of *having left home in search for greener pastures*, just to *not having found SA the promised land*, of *being chased away from informal settlements*,

*spending the night at a police station, being transported to a camp side, where to be kept.* It is a long chain of physical deprivation of a proper and own place to live, to call home, which can represent the base of autonomous life. The entire process pictures again the final state of a long journey starting with active energy, pulled towards a utopia and ending up in a final scenery of loss.

<p>“Emotional foreign nationals told yesterday how they had left their homes, mostly in wartorn countries, in search of greener pastures, but had not found South Africa to be the promised land they expected” (Mbabela et al. 2015, April 17, The Herald).</p>
<p>“Foreigners who were chased away the previous night from the Bottlebrush community's informal settlement in Chatsworth, Durban, wait to be transported by the police to a camp site after spending the night at the police station for their own safety” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“Ekurhuleni mayoral spokesman Zweli Dlamini said the displaced foreign nationals would be kept there until calm has been restored in the area” (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan).</p>

### **II.1.1.8 Strong men for South Africa's protection – the interdependence between securitization and leadership**

There is a notable demand for leadership expressed in the discourse. It directly calls on *President Zuma, the government or influential people* to guide and regulate the entire country - whatever and whoever that is specifically. The analogy of the president not being able to control its son shows the expectations of him being the nation's father. *The heart of the problem is a lack of leadership and nothing was done in the intervening period to counter the source.* Here the source again expresses the image of the plague. *The government* is blamed for not having taken enough preventive action. Given the tasks of a government, this is a legitimate concern. The expectation thus seems to be an almost exclusive top-down problem-solving strategy, which stands in contradiction to the concept of democracy in its very form of shared power and responsibility between all parts of society. *Control, see after the needs, help, solving the problem, having hands full, should urgently*



*create dialogue to bring back sanity and calm, respond to the need for heightened protections and help to integrate* are the actions connected to *government, police* as well as *NGOs* (the latter only being mentioned in one example). The last statement points out the incorporated twist towards leadership. Of one the one hand it is claiming leaders to talk with *glamorous voices*, thus presenting their power, while not dealing *effectively with the crisis*. One the other hand the focus on leadership in general is not challenged. In this way, the message, despite this disappointment ends with noting *It should not be difficult for Zuma to stand up and confront the crisis decisively and directly - and stop the bodies piling up*.

"You (president Zuma) cannot control the country and you cannot control your own son," Malema said (Pillay & Capazorio 2015, April 17, Daily Dispatch; Mbabela et al. 2015, April 17, The Herald).
"But at the heart of this problem is a lack of leadership. Thabo Mbeki flatly denied that the 2008 attacks were xenophobic. It's a line that is still followed by the government, and nothing was done in the intervening period to counter the scourge" (Mthombothi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).
"Meanwhile, Raj Govender, a senior manager in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture, said a task team comprising representatives of his department, the KZN Department of Social Development, the eThekweni Municipality and several NGOs, would see to the needs of about 170 foreign nationals who had been affected by the violence" (Post 2015, April 8).
"Mr Gigaba also said that his department was prepared to help immigrants who were determined to stay in SA" (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day).
"Nick Holmes, a paramedic with the South African Police Services, said they have had their hands full trying to separate the sick and injured from the normal displaced foreign nationals" (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).
"Yesterday the HRC also expressed regret that the government had not responded to a report by the commission in 2009 on xenophobic attacks, which, among others, emphasised the need for heightened protection of foreign nationals" (April 18, 2015).
"He said, 'We will ensure that all our people, including foreign nationals, always feel enveloped by an abiding sense of security wherever they are in the country' "(Post 2015, April 8).
"He said that rather than a knee-jerk reaction, the South African government should urgently create "a dialogue of influential people to bring back sanity and calm" (Khoisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).

“Liberian Austin Teage said: ‘I think the ANC can solve the problems. They should hold more meetings to help us integrate’” (Hans & Ngubane 2015, April 20, The Mercury).

“Politicians too busy worrying about next year’s poll

TO WHOM do we listen in the clamour of voices shouting about the xenophobic violence engulfing parts of our country? Mixed messages from government leaders and ruling party apparatchiks do not help the **situation**.

But what is clear is that no one has a plan for dealing effectively with this crisis.

Until President Jacob Zuma appears on national television and radio and speaks to South Africans, press statements from his office will remain merely that - press statements.

It should not be difficult for Zuma to stand up and confront the crisis decisively and directly - and stop the bodies piling up” (The Times (South Africa) 2015, April 14, The Times).

### II.1.1.9 A few critical voices towards leadership styles in South Africa

Unless the dominant nexus of the discourse is highlighting the important role of strong leadership as response to migration issues, a few voices as well question this development. Firstly, critics claim on leaders to abuse their status and influence, and so *mobilizing residents against foreigners in order to strengthen their own power*. Secondly, leaders are accused to act *irresponsible* and *against the constitution* and finally lamenting on a population *accepting* this form of leadership unconditionally and blindly following the words of those in power.

“Forced Migration Studies Programme as a lack of trusted and effective conflict resolution mechanisms, a culture of impunity among those who attack foreign nationals, and competition for community leadership in which local leaders mobilise residents against foreign nationals in order to strengthen their own power base” (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day).

“It must be said without fear of contradiction that whatever King Zwelithini said was irresponsible, unwarranted and had undermined our Republic and put this country in disrepute. There is lot of people accepting wrong things in this country if those things are said by people who are respected irrespective of their implications” (Mbewu 2015, April 18, Daily Dispatch).

“King Zwelithini had undermined our Constitution and the President of the Republic by instigating violence direct or indirectly in our country” (Mbewu 2015, April 18, Daily Dispatch).

### II.1.1.10 Repatriation/deportation in the name of xenophobia prevention - the ultimate strategy for SA identity politics

The security frame is further leading the discourse towards deportation and repatriation. *Repatriation* as euphemism for *deportation* is the final state of lost self-determination in a human's life. It is organized by a *center*, handled in a *deportation facility* through *processes* designed by *policies*. It is an action presented as highly formalized similar to automatic trade procedures. *Masses of buses* are organized by *home affairs* and lining up to transport. *Batches of Malawian xenophobia victims, undocumented immigrants*, moved towards their *respective* or *home countries*. Dominant are passive expressions like *being repatriated, expected to be repatriated*. *Repatriate* as active process appears in combination with *the government, the Malawi government, South African and other African governments* as well as country names like *Malawi and Somalia* as subjects. *Voluntary repatriation program* as well as *repatriating those who wanted to return* and *foreigners who had volunteered to be repatriated* each appear only once. The circumstances causing these actions are *weeks of xenophobic violence, being in the wake of violence, fear of safety*, being a victim of *xenophobia* being *undocumented* or *displaced*. All in all, these are efforts of strong government actions conducted to apply the law against illegality or for the protection of the expatriate against violence. Only one statement describes the *leaving of foreigners*. Naming it *Homeward Bound* though gives the impression of a desired final return to what they must consider as their home after a long journey. It describes a simple and easy matter, following a natural order and under the premise of free choice.

"Although the Lindela repatriation centre is the awaiting-deportation facility for undocumented immigrants, there is no policy of encampment pending processing" (Merten 2017, April 17, The Star).

<p>“MALAWI and Somalia are preparing to repatriate their citizens after weeks of xenophobic violence in KwaZulu-Natal” (Nair et. al 2015, April 14, The Herald)</p>
<p>“BBC News reported this week that the Malawi government said it would repatriate its citizens” (Ngubane 2015, April 17, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“The first batch of Malawian xenophobia victims are expected to be repatriated from South Africa on Sunday, a Malawian government spokesman has disclosed” (Tenthani 2015, April 16, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“However, the Malawian government has hired buses to repatriate 500 of its nationals” (Reuters 2015, April 18, Weekend Post).</p>
<p>“He said some foreigners had volunteered to be repatriated to their respective countries, fearing for their safety” (Malefane 2015, April 16, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“Malawi government has begun what it calls its voluntary repatriation programme for citizens in the wake of the violence” (Jones 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)</p>
<p>“Earlier at least 15 buses lined up at refugee camps around Durban to repatriate those wanting to return to Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Malawi and Somalia” (Shaikh 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>Since Friday, the South African and other governments in Africa have hired buses to repatriate hundreds of people displaced in three weeks of xenophobic violence in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng (Savides &amp; Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times).</p>
<p>“The king delivered a speech in Pongola, in northern KZN, last month during which he called on foreigners to be repatriated to their home countries” (Hans 2015, April 20, The Star).</p>
<p>“Since Friday, the South African and other African governments have hired massive buses to repatriate hundreds of foreigners who have been displaced in violent xenophobic clashes” (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan; Savides 2015, April 20; The Times).</p>
<p>"He was referring to the deportation of illegals because the way he started off was a question of carelessness of our borders," said Nhleko (April 20, 2015, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“Last week, buses, organised by the Department of Home Affairs transported foreigners to Malawi and Mozambique” (Hans &amp; Ngubane April 20, 2015, The Mercury; Hans 2015, April 20, The Star).</p>
<p>“HOMEWARD BOUND: Foreigners from Malawi leave on a bus home from one of the relief camps” (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan)</p>
<p>“Experts say Mantashe’s calls are part of the government’s greater scheme to remove foreigners from the country, starting with the closure of refugee reception centres in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg last year” (Nair et.al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>
<p>“Why doesn’t the government take a stand and set aside an emergency budget to sift the illegal foreign nationals and deport them” (Ledwaba 2015, April 17, Sowetan).</p>

At this point, there is one statement to mention, which raises concerns about the intensified control and deportation strategies in the name of xenophobia prevention actually turning into acts of *profiling* and thus drawing visible connection to certain forms of *identity politics*.

“A theme readily echoed across the pond against a disparate rag-tag and bobtail coterie breaking new ground with their own show of double standards. They are linking facets of xenophobia with profiling based on categories of geographical origin, communalism, sectarianism, religion and language. These supremacist assumptions are igniting passions and triggering a return of identity politics. South Africans who thrive on the strength of a relatively open society are right to question such inflammatory mindsets and in-your-face assertions of separateness” (Post 2015, April 8).

### II.1.1.11 Militaristic rhetoric applied to a conflict of civilian matter – the final state of securitization

Interestingly, military rhetoric, such as *combating* and *intervention* is used in the context of the reporting how the police ministry is thinking about other tactics with *long-term* and *sustainable impacts* without explaining more particular and in depth what the *one humanity campaign* would propose. *Easing tensions* is a first step, *eradicating xenophobia* is an ambitious objective, though highly unrealistic. At the same time are all these ideas conceptually fighting against something instead of envisioning something else.

“The police ministry hopes to combat Afrophobia through the We Are One Humanity campaign, which will feature roadshows across the country. A thumbs-up sticker will show "a commitment to a xenophobic-free lifestyle" (Savides & Masombuca 2015, April 20, The Times).

“Nhleko said: ‘Now that the situation is stabilizing, the government is turning its attention to a long-term, sustainable intervention that will address the underlying mindsets that motivate these attacks in the first place. Xenophobic tendencies’” (Savides & Masombuca 2015, April 20, The Times)

“Furthermore, to ease tension and eradicate xenophobia, strategies should be put in place to help promote peaceful co-existence between all” (Saeed 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).

## II.1.2 Human Rights, Ethics and the expat as capable human being

### II.1.2.1 Perception of Human Rights Commissions singularly as control force towards leadership abuse – testimony for the reductionist viewpoint on Human Rights

The highest frequency of the *SA human rights commission's appearance* and other institutions like *the university of Pretoria's center for human* occurs in connection with the cases where Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini is accused of having further incited xenophobia by asking the government to “send foreigners back home – prompting an investigation by the Human Rights Commission” (Savides & Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times).

While some articles highlight the security frame when reporting about the King's statement, others concentrate more on a connection to the endangered situation of the expatriate as consequence of the violence applied by locals. The Human Rights Commission's task is to PROBE the statement, to CHARGE the king regarding *hate speech*, to *investigate the king's statement*. There is no other report whatsoever about any other action by the commission apart from it being a controlling institution. The focus on the King's statement adds to the general observation of high discursive attention to leadership and officials.

<p>“SCORES of foreign nationals were yesterday still seeking refuge at the Isiphingo police station in KwaZulu-Natal after fleeing their homes in fear of attacks by locals. This comes just a week after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call for all foreign nationals to be kicked out of the country. His remarks are now the subject of a probe by the SA Human Rights Commission” (Makaye 2015, April 1, The Sowetan). “The victims of the latest attack have lodged a complaint with the South African Human Rights Commission” (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“The Human Rights Commission has said it will investigate the king's statement to establish whether it was tantamount to xenophobia” (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“The SA Human Rights Commission is now probing Zwelithini's comments” (Makaye 2015, April 8, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini is facing charges of hate speech at the South African Human Rights Commission” (Child 2015, April 17, 2015).</p>

<p>“Zwelithini is facing charges of hate speech at the SA Human Rights Commission, after saying in Pongola last month that “immigrants [must] take their bags and go where they come y” (Pillay 2015, April 17, The Herald).</p>
<p>“THE South African Human Rights Commission wants King Goodwill Zwelithini to confirm that xenophobic attacks are ‘not being undertaken in his name or by his direction’ (Daily Dispatch 2015, April 18)</p>
<p>“[...] the Human Rights Commission and laid a hate speech charge against Zwelithini” (Cape Argus 2015, April).</p>
<p>“It was the Zulu king who started this. He said the foreigners should go (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“The attack came a few days after King Goodwill Zwelithini made explosive xenophobic comments at a public meeting, urging the government to expel the foreigners” (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“The University of Pretoria's Centre for Human Rights also spoke out against the silence of the government and the ANC and their delay in engaging the public on xenophobia. ‘We need to hear language that makes a difference, words that loudly and clearly counter the toxic discourse that has been allowed to take us down a spiral of violence,’ the centre's director, Prof Frans Viljoen, said” (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News).</p>

Only in a few cases Human Rights advocates and lawyers are assigned with different tasks. In one case this refers to express critics on the government's theoretical and practical reactions on the subject. A second one demonstrates that there are attempts made towards establishing justice through possible legal punishment of those perpetrating violence on expatriate. And finally a third case, filling one entire article shows human rights lawyers especially interrogating policies and actions of detention and deportation. It includes explaining the reader official rules and informs about the rights of foreigners.

<p>“Human rights lawyers and political analysts yesterday criticised ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe for calling for the establishment of refugee camps for immigrants. They said his was a knee-jerk reaction” (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>
<p>“Trish Erasmus, head of the Lawyers for Human Rights refugee and migrant rights programme, criticised Nhleko's remarks that the situation was under control and that the violence was ideological” (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>
<p>“The attacks have sent shockwaves through the diplomatic, business and human rights circles. Although the government has condemned the violence, there remains no clear strategy to contain it” (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>

"Thankfully, there are elements of civil society that are fighting for the recognition of hate crimes, such as the Hate Crimes Working Group - a network of nongovernmental organisations set up to spearhead advocacy and reform initiatives pertaining to hate crimes in SA and the region" (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day).

"LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR) is challenging the constitutionality of sections of the Immigration Act which do not make provision for detainees to be brought before court in person to challenge the lawfulness of their detention" (Venter 2015, April 8, Pretoria News).

LHR's head of detention monitoring, Lesirela Letsebe, said in an affidavit before the High Court in Pretoria that hundreds of foreigners were unlawfully held at Lindela repatriation facility and at other facilities including police stations.

These people usually do not know their rights, nor do the immigration officers inform them.

As a result many often unlawfully stay at Lindela and other places for months on end before they are released or deported.

As the law stands, an illegal foreigner can be arrested and detained for the purpose of deportation on the strength of a warrant by an immigration officer. If a detainee wished to challenge the detention, he or she may request that the officer produce a warrant obtained from court.

If the officer failed to produce this within 48 hours, the detainee is entitled to immediate release.

Davit Cote, a lawyer at LHR, said the warrant was obtained in chambers and the detainee, who would not be present, was deprived of the right to make submissions on why he or she should not be detained.

If the detention lasts for more than 30 days, the officer must obtain a warrant from a magistrate and give notice to the detainee of this intention. The detainee is then invited to make written submissions which are attached to the application for a warrant.

This warrant is again issued in chambers.

Cote said detainees were not given the opportunity to make representations and did not appear in person before the magistrate to challenge their detention.

The Constitution, however, gives the right to any arrested and detained person to, in person, contest the lawfulness of their detention. "Our application will ensure that immigration detainees are also covered by these provisions. We have evidence in a series of applications showing widespread non compliance with the protections under the Immigration Act for these detainees. Many are detained for more than 120 days, which is not permitted by the act," Cote said.

LHR is asking the court to order that sections of the Immigration Act be amended so that immigration officials cannot approach a magistrate alone to obtain permission to detain foreigners for longer than the prescribed 30 days.



Although detainees can make written submissions or instruct their lawyers, this is usually impossible, as most do not have money or are unable to speak English.

Facilities at Lindela are dire and it is difficult for lawyers to access their clients.

Letsebe said if detainees were required by law to appear before a magistrate during warrant proceedings, they would be able to challenge their detention in person.

LHR said according to its experience, most of those arrested were detained in the overcrowded Lindela without knowing why, for how long or what they could do about their situation.

The application was yesterday postponed indefinitely. Home Affairs noted its intention to oppose the application, but had to date not filed any papers in this regard" (Venter 2015, April 8, Pretoria News).

### **II.1.2.2 The expatriate as human - spiritual-philosophical approaches towards migration within the context of Religion**

In the context of religion, there are notable differences regarding possible approaches towards the transformation of the violent situation. In contradiction to all other merely technical approaches, in this context the *need for human response* is articulated. Philosophical ideas *include a common humanity, teachings of gospel, the South African concept of Ubuntu, which has no borders*. Leaders call for the *real spirit of Ubuntu* and to search *more for that which unites us than what divides us*. More specifically, the discourse here talks about *open our hearts, homes and communities to receiving and welcoming foreigners/ our visitors*. Here the expatriate is still seen as temporary guest. To suggest that *South Africans have to come to the need of refugees and refugees to the need of South Africans* means already conceptualizing reciprocal acknowledging on the same level, which leads to a *seeing of each other as neighbors*. Taking it further requires *hearing their stories, coming together and getting to know each other* in order to *build bridges and help to learn to engage while respecting differences*. Spiritual thinking here asks *to hold and promote positive attitudes towards "others", encourage better relations and treat our brothers with love and respect*. There are appeals to *learn to live in harmony together* -together means more than next to each other. All of these concepts are

processes, which require activeness, time, patience, as well as the use of the soul and aim for sustainable goals. Thus, they stand in contrast to so-called purely rational and radical short-time solutions. These philosophical ideas appeal to *the values of love and kindness, dignity of all humans that must be respected, irrespective from where they are from*. They ask to put the focus away from the differences. They call for self-reflection and *sharing the little one has in common with other nationals*. They elevate cooperation over competition. *Healing the memories of trauma* acknowledges the profundity of social issues and is aware of the feelings involved. They affirm that *we have the skill to transform a bad situation to one that works for the betterment of humanity. We can find a way to live in harmony*. This sentence is the most positive within the entire sample of articles. It presents hope about the capacity to take a given conflictive situation as chance to realize the need for change. Transforming means to develop a holistic approach which incorporates the entire situation. The *we* is sign of believed cooperation and the existence of a one human race, which strives for positive evolution. What is called for thus is a spiritual growth and not development in the economic sense or in state organization. Expatriates are called *refugees, neighbors, people from different backgrounds, our brothers*. The term refugees might again show a notion of solidarity for the vulnerable. The terms of neighbors and people from different backgrounds are neutral and non-hierarchical. The term *our brothers* implies family and indestructible connection.

"We need a nuanced, humane response" (April 14, 2015, The Times).

"Father Peter Lafferty, commissioner for refugees of the Catholic Archdiocese of Durban, said the archdiocese condemned unreservedly anyone who tried to ignite or encouraged hatred, conflict or violence in communities. This was contrary to the teachings of the Gospel and to the South African concept of ubuntu, he said" (Surujpal 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent).

"Parishes are often places in which people from different backgrounds come together and get to know each other and ultimately see each other as neighbours" (Surujpal 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent).

<p>"For example, we have for a number of years been running healing workshops in which South Africans and refugees come together to heal the memories of trauma. Often in hearing other people's stories we learn that there is more that unites us than divides us. "Over the years we have witnessed situations in which South Africans have come to the need of refugees and refugees have come to the need of South Africans. This is the real spirit of ubuntu." (Surujpal 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent).</p>
<p>"Maulana Ahmed Yusuf Mahomed, of the Jamiatul Ulama KZN, the council of Muslim theologians, said the xenophobia being played out in parts of KwaZulu-Natal was tragic" (Surujpal 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent).</p>
<p>"He said the church had an important role to play in building bridges and helping people to learn to engage and respect differences" (April 12, 2015, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>"Our church always preaches about the issues of treating our brothers with love and respect. We emphasised that and hope to avoid any outbreaks in our province" (April 12, 2015, the Sunday Independent).</p>
<p>"He said this week they would be identifying areas where foreigners lived or worked in order to encourage better relations with locals" (April 12, 2015, the Sunday Independent).</p>
<p>"Many (foreigners) are helping us. There are many shops in Mdantsane run by foreign nationals" (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie April 20, 2015, Daily Dispatch).</p>
<p>"They do not steal from anyone but are helping us. As people we must all learn to live in harmony with one another," he said" (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie April 20, 2015, Daily Dispatch)</p>
<p>"Ubuntu has no borders; the values of love and kindness are part of African culture. It's in our nature to welcome our visitors. The dignity of all human beings must be respected, irrespective of where they are from" (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie April 20, 2015, Daily Dispatch)</p>
<p>"Qwabaza said South African citizens should share the little they had with other nationals" (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie April 20, 2015, Daily Dispatch).</p>
<p>"Our people must return to God and repent," he said, adding the attacks on foreigners could have negative implications for the country (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie April 20, 2015, Daily Dispatch).</p>
<p>"Saydoon Nisa Sayed of the Religions For Peace group said: "We have the skill to transform a bad situation to one that works for the betterment of humanity. We can find a way to live in harmony" (Attwood 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>Faith communities have a particular imperative to hold and promote positive attitudes towards "others". The teachings of all our major religions - from the Christian Bible and the Muslim Koran to the Jewish Torah and the Hindu Upanishads - exhort us to welcome the stranger (Hartle 2015, April 4a, Daily Dispatch).</p>
<p>"We can open our hearts, homes and communities to receiving and welcoming foreigners, hearing their stories and assisting in their settlement into a new environment" (Hartle 2015, April 4a, Daily Dispatch).</p>

"The defining texts of our respective faiths establish this obligation. Our common humanity demands this response" (Hartle 2015, April 4a, Daily Dispatch).

"We read in Malachi 3:5 of how "He (God) hates the oppression of orphans and widows and the lack of kindness and acceptance towards aliens, those without a home" (Phillips 2015, April 13, The Mercury).

"every ethnic group should be warned against speaking with moral smugness about the sins of others ... we are all prone to self-righteousness because of how clearly we see the sins of others ... we think we have progressed out of sins into greater righteousness when in fact we are probably as soft on our own sins as previous generations were on theirs" (Phillips 2015, April 13, The Mercury).

### II.1.2.3 Expatriates as capable decision makers – rare presentations of activeness

The discourse, although rarely, depicts expatriate as well taking active positions and decisions in the following circumstances:

"The refugees complained that the police station did not have adequate sanitation and ablution facilities" (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).

"Some refugees complained that their documents had been left behind when they fled" (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).

"Foreign nationals have complained that the South African police are failing to protect them" (Reuters 2015, April 18, Weekend Post).

*Complaining* represents a minimum of unacceptance with the situation one finds itself. The term expresses that what is happening is not an inevitable destiny one has to take without raising one's voice.

"Most of the Mozambicans who had registered to be taken back to their home country from Durban changed their minds yesterday when a bus and truck arrived at the refugee camps in Durban to pick them up (Ngubane 2015, April 17, The Mercury).

"Nigerian Amvri Djuma, 32, said Mozambicans had told them that they would rather "risk being killed" in South Africa than go back home" (April 17, 2015, The Mercury).

“Rose Manuel from Mozambique said she did not want to go back home and pleaded for peace. (Ngubane 2015, April 17, The Mercury)

“Another Mozambican national, Francisco Mashaba, is also prepared to continue staying in the area” (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan).

Here the expatriate are presented in the situation of taking an active decision to not give up and comply with a situation forced upon them: They are *changing their mind not to be taken home* although being threatened to make them do so. Nevertheless, resisting poses danger to one's own existence, leaving a question on the actuality of choice. Only the last example shows strength as Francisco is *prepared to continue to stay*.

“FOREIGN nationals in Pretoria are *up in arms* as the *threats of xenophobic violence* spread and Johannesburg foreigners have been forced to close shops in the wake of lootings and beatings yesterday” (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News).

“In another part of the city, *foreigners who own shops* on Point Road declared they were not willing to “be prey for South Africans”. Armed with *axes, machetes and sticks*, about 1000 foreigners burned tyres, overturned bins and waited for the mob to arrive” (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times).

“Last night, *police battled to contain a wave of violence* as gangs *of migrants* armed themselves with machetes to fight off anti-foreigner attacks by locals” (Staff Report and Daily Mail 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent).

*Being up in arms/ armed with axes machetes and sticks* represents an act of self-defense, even if it is conducted with the same means which are used to threaten the defendants. Refusing to be the *prey*, means not submitting to a process of perceived natural order of hierarchy. Responding to violence with violence as ultimate option thus indirectly gives the impression of actual powerlessness.

“At least 1000 foreigners *have left the country so far*” (Savides & Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times).

“At least 1000 foreigners have left the country so far, most of them heading to *Malawi, Zimbabwe or Mozambique*” (Savides & Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times).

<p>“Almost 600 Zimbabweans yesterday packed up what remained of their lives here and crammed into nine buses parked on a soccer field in Chatsworth, Durban. Their next stop: home” ((Savides &amp; Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times).</p>
<p>“Ronald Dandavare desperately wanted to get on one of those buses” (Savides &amp; Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times).</p>
<p>“Zimbabwean national Happy Molosta has been in South Africa for seven years and said he did not want to die in a foreign country and wanted to go back home” (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“You can see that our people are happy to go home. They know they will be safe at home,” said Dandavare, in between shouts of “goodbye” and “good luck” in his native Shona language (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan).</p>
<p>“In total, nine buses left for Zimbabwe yesterday. Each bus was pulling a large trailer and had 65 passengers on board” (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan).</p>

The scenery of leaving demonstrates an activity. At the same time there is desperation and *packing up what is left of one's life* and *not wanting to die in a foreign country*. There actually is a lack of choice, as there is not much left to lose.

<p>"One must remember that refugees and asylum seekers are only a small portion of those who move into the country. The majority of foreigners come on work, student or tourist visas" (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>
<p>"Camps are based on the assumption that people are based here permanently, but most immigrants come only for employment and return to their home countries" (source? expatriate)</p>
<p>Palmary said a big question was whether camps were constitutionally legal as they would deprive people of their right of freedom of movement (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>

#### II.1.2.4 Approaches of civilian strategies towards the conflict

Apart from the desire to implement more security there are also other approaches arising within the discourse: *Reintegration into their various communities, engagement of community, dialogue, involvement of all citizens*. Primarily, these are approaches beyond the application of harsh methods. Secondly, they are meant to be more inclusive and sustainable. Dialogue furthers communication hold between various equal actors. Engagement demonstrates comprehensive and

profound dedication. The expression of *Reintegration into their community* reveals an understanding of expatriate being part of those communities. The phrases *Reintegrate them/the foreigners/reintegration has begun* identifies a top to down performance. The term *citizens* defines a person living in a state guided by a constitution as the contract between the government and the inhabitants. As a consequence of the mutual compliance to the constitution, its contract offers rights and demands obligations from both sides. Within the rights is the one of the possibility of everybody/*all citizens* to take part in the country's matters. Finally, one article envisions reformations based on transformations of an entire society: *This has to be a vision that takes inequalities seriously and has a real strategy to build a just society with integrated cities* to which *all people of good conscience commit themselves*. It acknowledges as well, that social transformations need to be profound and require time.

<p>“Meanwhile, we need to engage local communities and ensure the reintegration of the foreigners is peaceful” (Social Development MEX Weziwe Thusi) (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5).</p>
<p>“The government's priority now, he said, would be to reintegrate the foreigners into their various communities before schools re-opened next week” (The Independence on Saturday 2015, April 11).</p>
<p>“We must now find measures to reintegrate the displaced foreign nationals back to the communities and champion peaceful coexistence, he said” (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day).</p>
<p>“KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education spokes-man Muzi Mahlambe said they were working with other departments to reintegrate the displaced communities” (Saeed 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>"We wish to reintegrate them back to their communities. We cannot determine how long we will keep them. We do hope by the end of next week they can go back to their communities (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day).</p>
<p>"Re-integration has begun and community engagements on how best to work together are being held", she said (Makhubu 2015, April 18, Pretoria News Weekend).</p>
<p>“Joe Nene, an adviser to eThekweni Mayor James Nxumalo, said the city and Community Safety and Liaison MEC Willie Mchunu would lead a campaign to take foreigners back into the community” (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury).</p>

<p>“It suggested that there should be a dialogue on the matter which would involve all citizens with an aim of finding a solution” (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“we need to think seriously about how to rebuild an inclusive political vision” (Buccus 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“All have a right to live wherever they choose in South Africa, and to be full citizens” (Buccus 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“But opposing the collapse into a narrow politics of ethnic, racial and national chauvinism is not enough. To really move we need to develop a new vision to replace the myth of the Rainbow Nation. This has to be a vision that takes inequalities seriously and has a real strategy to build a just society. This is difficult work. It requires hard choices. It will mean that capital cannot continue to operate outside any real social responsibility. It will mean that we will have to build integrated cities” (Buccus 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“There is a long and dangerous road ahead. If we don't break out of the vicious circle into which we have sunk; national, racial and ethnic chauvinism will continue to fester and our society will continue to be scarred by violence. It is vital that all people of good conscience come together and commit themselves to building a just and inclusive society” (Buccus 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>

Further, there are critical voices towards the applied migration and control measures, such as *closing refugee reception centres and moving them to the borders, preparing the establishment of refugee camps*. Talking about what is *inhuman* involves ethics such as unconditional *dignity even foreigners without permits deserve*. *The importance of a peaceful coexistence* expresses a way of living together in which rules are not defined by the circumstances of differences. Claiming the *loss of humanity, tolerance, compassion and reason*, shows that there is a desire to recover them. Furthermore, this enumeration combines approaches both of the soul, heart and mind mentioned in the same sentence, giving credit to their inseparability and equal importance. *The spirit of a shared humanity as central to contemporary global meaning of human rights and development* is a definition which represents a significant difference to a human rights approach under the premises of eligibility through vulnerability and victimhood. *We are all people, human beings and Africans* talks about different facets of identity, without losing a transnational existence as humans beyond differences.



<p>“Ingrid Palmay, an associate professor at the Wits African Centre for Migration and Society, said: “When the <b>refugee</b> reception centres were closed and moved to the borders the suggestion from this was that this is the first step towards encampment”” (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald).</p>
<p>“The provincial government has placed the latest <b>kenophobic attacks</b> in Durban at the top of its agenda, with the provincial executive council <b>describing the acts as inhumane</b>” (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).</p>
<p>“In this regard, the <b>executive council</b> reaffirms its belief <b>in the spirit of shared humanity as central to contemporary global meaning of human rights and development</b>,” read a statement from <b>Premier Senzo Mchunu's office</b> (Hans 2015, April 6, The Mercury).</p>
<p><b>Even foreigners without legal permits still deserved to be treated with dignity</b> (GigB) (The Independent on Saturday 2015, April 11).</p>
<p>“<b>These incidents can start at any time and we must emphasise the importance of co-existence. We are all people, human beings and Africans. We must learn to address the challenges.</b>” (Post 2015, April 8).</p>
<p>“<b>Ashwin Trikamjee of the Hindu Maha Saba said: “We appear to have lost our humanity, tolerance, compassion and reason”</b> (Attwood 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“<b>Let these people know that we care, that we value them, and that we believe that they can contribute towards building an incredible country, a country that they seem to believe in more than we do. And that their hope can become our hope. Don't give up your humanity - it's the only thing that is truly you</b>” (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday).</p>

The calls for *setting up a commission to address the root causes*, *creating understanding by talking to people and sending a strong message about condemning racism which must be clearly understood at grass-roots level* outline a hierarchy from officials to population. It also creates a certain distance between the state and its citizens similar to a classical teacher-student relation. Mentioning a *meeting between civil society groups, security organizations, traditional leadership structures and community groups to assess the situation and put strategies in place* shows the consciousness about the need of broader cooperation.

<p>“<b>From this week Mchunu will lead the campaign to talk to people because they need to understand the plight of the foreigners,” he said</b> (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury).</p>
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"The government needs to send out a strong message that this form of racism will not be tolerated and the message must be clearly understood at grass-roots level (April 12, 2015, Sunday Tribune).
In addition, a commission must be set up to address the root causes of hate crimes vis-À-vis the current wave of violence against foreigners that we are witnessing (Saeed 2015, April 16, Cape Argus).
Community policing forum chairman Eddie Mnguni said tensions were high and a meeting between civil society groups, security organizations, traditional leadership structures and community groups had been called to assess the situation and put strategies in place to safeguard and protect foreigners (Makhubu 2015, April 17, Pretoria News).

### II.1.2.5 African Solidarity and Ubuntu

Part of the discourse connected to solidarity is specifically addressing a mutual African support. This discourse reminds of the actions and attitudes towards South Africa during Apartheid. There were other African countries, *who treated with generosity and respect, provided shelter, offered refugee, welcomed, not only opened their borders, but also opened their hearts and homes, hosted with dignity and respect protected, sheltered, educated, nurtured*. All these descriptions refer to giving without primarily receiving something or winning something back. Noting them as a sign of compassion and solidarity the argumentation calls for similar treatment of expatriate now. Thus, this part of the discourse pleads for *embracing our African brothers and sisters, promoting the spirit of Ubuntu, African solidarity, African unity, refugees here needed to be treated the same way, promoting African identity, duty to be respectful to other African countries, and respecting one another*. It is presented as an almost unquestionable attitude, which should come naturally and because of short-term and countable benefits like economic trade partnerships or similar would ask for expatriates. In this context the expatriate are defined as *African brothers and sisters, our brothers from Africa, these individuals, political refugees, people of various countries, neighboring countries, African countries, many African countries, the very people, and other African countries*. Apart from a relationship of

family or people as in their personal or simply human existence as people, entities of countries without specific names are pictured.

<p>“We are pleading for cool heads. We urge people to embrace our African brothers and sisters and promote the spirit of ubuntu”, said Jentile (Fengu, Feni, Plaatjie 2015, April 20, Daily Dispatch; Mphande et. al. 2015, April 20, The Herald).</p>
<p>“In a bid to quell the violence, various organisations - including church leaders, civil society groups and Lawyers for Human Rights - have asked the king to address a public gathering to set the record straight or retract his statement that has been linked to African solidarity” (Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, The Independent on Saturday)</p>
<p>“He said South Africans had been treated with "generosity and respect by our brothers from Africa" when they had fled apartheid and refugees here needed to be treated the same way” (Pillay &amp; Capazorio 2015, April 17, Daily Dispatch; Mbabela 2015, April 17, The Herald; Capazorio 2015, April 17, Sowetan).</p>
<p>"These attacks go against the grain of ubuntu botho (human kindness). These individuals come from countries that provided shelter to our political refugees during apartheid” (Attwood 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“As South Africans we can never ever forget that people of various countries across the globe not only opened their borders for our liberation fighters, but also opened their hearts and homes in our hour of need” (Attwood 2015, April 12a, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“Annipen said it was vital that citizens not forget that during apartheid it was from the neighbouring countries that South Africans sought asylum from the persecution they encountered” (Soobramoney 2015, April 15, Post).</p>
<p>“The ANC-aligned student organisation stressed the need for South Africans to work together in defeating xenophobia, saying Tambo and other freedom fighters had been welcomed in African countries during the fight against apartheid” (Ndamase 2015, April 17, The Herald).</p>
<p>“He said South Africa had an opportunity on Africa Day, May 25, to promote its African identity. Many South African leaders were hosted with dignity and respect in countries across the continent during apartheid” (Cape Argus 2015, April 17a, Cape Argus).</p>
<p>“We must not forget that during the dark days of apartheid it was in these neighbouring countries that our people sought asylum from the persecution that they encountered” (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“Many African countries stood by the South Africans in their struggle against apartheid” (The Mercury 2015, April 20).</p>

### II.1.3 Economy – The *Homo Economicus* – the submission of human life to the values of Neoliberalism

The economic frame is guided by several basic storylines. Firstly, there is the economic capacity in each person, which then defines his or her value: *where people are regarded as individuals, each with the potential to achieve*. The articulated argument here is to quit *race* and *grouping* and instead distinguish into *advantaged* and *disadvantaged* and further *achievers* and *non-achievers*. The former might be considered as a vision of social equality, whereas the latter can be placed in the logic of neoliberalism. *Capabilities cannot be asserted from appearance*: It is in itself a very humanistic statement, but if potential and achievement represent a reason to separate the wheat from the chaff, it is still separation.

“It is sad that we cannot reach a stage where people are regarded as individuals, each with the potential to achieve” (Scheumann 2015, April 16, The Herald)

Instead, every effort is made to separate people on the basis of race, whereas it is clear that in each grouping there are advantaged and disadvantaged people, achievers and non-achievers. A person's character and capabilities cannot be ascertained from appearance. (Scheumann 2015, April 16, The Herald)

A second logic deals with the economic position South Africa holds or could potentially have. Therefore, it has a reputation to lose. *The violence could have a damaging effect on investor sentiment. Violence though is sending a negative message to the international business community with potential effect on South African business*. The concern here is clearly to the outside, while the violence and its underlying reasons are a matter of what is happening in the inside. *Agreements facilitate the movement of goods and people*. This suggests the rules of a freedom to move to be based on economy. Goods and people are placed in the same basket as something which can be used and transported due to the place where it is needed.

<p>"Business Unity South Africa (Busa) yesterday expressed concern that the violence against foreign nationals could have a damaging effect on investor sentiment" (Cape Argus 2015, April 20).</p>
<p>"South Africa's political stability makes the country highly attractive to immigrants; South Africa has entered into bilateral and multilateral trade agreements which, among others, facilitate the movement of goods and people into South Africa from the region and the continent', Busa said" (Cape Argus 2015, April 20).</p>
<p>"The continued violence against foreign nationals is sending a negative message to the international business community and could potentially affect South African businesses that are operating in the region and the continent" (Cape Argus 2015, April 20).</p>

### II.1.3.1 The expatriate as potential for needed skills in the South African economy

Concerning the migrant himself or herself, the economy frame employs different, even frequently contradictory discourses towards the usefulness or threat of migration for the South African economy. There is a basic underlying argumentation that South Africa is in need of skilled labor which can and should be imported through regulated immigration:

Supporting migration is based on the argumentative context of *a gap of core critical skills needed to boost the economy, desperately needed skills*, where *Each skill (we lose to another country [...] creates a gap here*. Thus, it just a logical consequence to *make use of foreign nationals*. Labor therefore *can move* and is presented as a coherent rationale. Condemning xenophobia is said to be a matter of seeing the value of migrants: *many here [...] in fact contribute to economy, contribute meaningfully to the economy and development of the country, and play in the country's economy*. Migration is positive as it *brought scarce skills*, expatriate *provide jobs [...] and offer a great service*. *Considered professions of value are health care students, dentists, pharmacists and doctors, trained workers and business people*. According to these paradigms, the line of reasoning is approaching towards *management of international migration properly* and towards *going further in regulating those recruited skills*. The worthiness results from the expatriate economic performance, which

provides the base for a legal stay in South Africa. Further, *honest business people* are considered to *have every right to trade in South Africa, as they uplift the economy*.

<p>"South Africa still struggling to bridge the gap of core critical skills needed to boost the economy" [...] "Speaking at the department's fourth and final international migration policy roundtable discussions, minister Malusi Gigaba said it was important for South Africa to manage international migration properly to better harness the desperately needed skills" (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>"you look at our health science students, dentists, pharmacists and doctors; they get attracted to England and other European countries. We need to be able to have a balanced approach as we cannot say to them they can't leave the country as it's their right and they will do so. But for each skill that we lose to another country, it creates a gap here. This cannot be filled through our own wishes, so we need to go out and recruit skills elsewhere and ensure we plug the gap" (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>"Thus, unless, "South Africa had already been making use of foreign nationals [...a] new policy should go further in regulating those recruited skills" .</p>
<p>"Labour can move on a visa basis. We can have trained workers and businesspeople moving, yes. Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News).</p>
<p>"many of whom are here legally and in fact contribute to the economy of the province," it read. (Hans 2015, April 10, The Mercury)</p>
<p>"the ones being targeted are honest business people who have every right to trade in South Africa." "These people uplift the economy and now there is an effort to drive them" (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail &amp; Guardian)</p>
<p>"Many foreign nationals have legal status and contribute meaningfully to the economy and the development of our country, and also abide by the country's laws" (Cape Argus 2015, April 13; African News Agency 2015, April 13, Cape Times).</p>
<p>"Under the heading 'xenophobia' in its international relations resolutions, in December 2012, the ANC resolved to "increase awareness of South Africans about the causes and dangers of xenophobia as well as the role foreign nationals play in the country's economy". (Merten 2015, April 17, The Star).</p>
<p>"They comply with taxation regulations and make a meaningful contribution toward the economic growth of our economy" (Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>He said the perceptions of foreign nationals as illegal, criminal or taking over jobs or ownership of shops, needed to be addressed. Zuma said many of them contributed to the economy, brought scarce skills or were refugees who had fled wars back home (Mbabela et. al. 2015, April 17, The Herald; Capazorio 2015, April 17, Sowetan).</p>
<p>"We have to make sure ooMy Friend [colloquially used term referring to foreign shop owners] are safe because they provide jobs for our families and offer a great service' she said" (local) (Mbabela et. al. 2015, April 17, The Herald)</p>

“He said the perceptions of foreign nationals as illegal, criminal or taking over jobs or ownership of shops, needed to be addressed. Zuma said many of them contributed to the economy, brought scarce skills[...].” (Capazorio 2015, April 17, Sowetan).

Only a few articles praise the expatriate as hard working and capable entrepreneur and worker without using it as argument for his/her profit bringing effect to the country and simply as a right of every human to look after a successful life

### II.1.3.2 The migrant as threat to locals, competing (with unfair means) local workforce and businesses

The discourse of the expatriate representing economic threat to workforce and business appears in various forms, often indirectly through providing direct or indirect speech of township inhabitants, officials and unspecific citations.

“When we go to look for work we don't get it but these foreigners go to their home countries and bring in their brothers and sisters to take our jobs” (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan).

“EtheKwini deputy city manager of community and emergency services Musa Gumede confirmed workers in the Isipingo area were upset that foreigners undermined their job security” (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5).

“Angry locals claimed the foreigners were taking their jobs and involved in crime” (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5).

“It was widely reported that he said that foreigners were changing the country's culture and were taking over the local economy” (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5)

the attacks were sparked by a labour dispute at a factory where dozens of locals were fired and replaced with foreign nationals (Makhaye 2015, April 8, Sowetan).

ETHEKWINI mayor James Nxumalo placed last week's xenophobic attacks in Isipingo on the shoulders of an Indian-owned business that allegedly employed foreign nationals |after a labour dispute resulted in employees going on strike (Post 2015, April 8)

The mayor said the employees were on strike and Jeena's decided to employ other workers - foreign nationals (Post 2015, April 8).

Foreigners pose many problems in South Africa, with the most prevalent undercutting the labour market by accepting lower wages (Govender 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).

<p>Inexperienced, ill-equipped and saddled with fake credentials, they seek work in the security and transport industries - which ultimately results in the deaths of innocent people (Govender 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).</p> <p>Local bosses exploit this. Where locals could be employed, foreigners are getting the jobs. (Govender 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).</p>
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*Foreigners are undermining job security, are taking jobs, undercutting the labor market by accepting lower wages, locals are fired and replaced with foreign nationals, businesses allegedly employ foreign nationals/decide to employ other workers – foreign nationals, where locals could be employed, foreigners are getting the jobs, work we don't get, but these foreigners bring their brothers and sisters to take our jobs.*

The last statement is drawing openly the connection others as also include indirectly: The association between the threatened local economy and the xenophobic violence: Foreigners jeopardizing local employment- *which ultimately results in the deaths of innocent people. It is the scarcity of resources and job opportunities in our country*, which gets expressed in the violence, as *locals are frustrated by their poor economic conditions*. It is them, *who are doing business to the detriment of South African competitors*, which are now *subject to looting and violent expulsion*. The citation of President Zuma saying that there are *complaints about the takeover of local shops and other businesses by foreign nationals*, gives the content a specific reason. Further, there are examples which do not clearly express a certainty of the perceived rivalry, they neither deny it, nor barely investigate it: *citizens suffer and relate their real or imagined experiences of disrespect and deficits to their ability to compete with foreigners*.

<p>"(The violence) has highlighted the scarcity of resources and job opportunities in our country" (Attwood 2015, April 12a, Sunday Tribune).</p> <p>"Temane said the attacks could signal that locals were frustrated by their poor economic conditions" (Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan).</p>
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"President Zuma has emphasised that the government is addressing the issues being raised by citizens nationally, in particular, complaints about illegal and undocumented migrants, the takeover of local shops and other businesses by foreign nationals (April 13, 2015, Pretoria News).
"foreigners who are doing business in the township to the detriment of South African competitors are subjected to looting and violent expulsion" (Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan)
"These citizens suffer socio-economic deprivation and relate their real or imagined experiences of disrespect and deficits to their inability to compete with foreigners (Lovesol 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune 7).
"By this weekend, the spread of Afro-xenophobic attacks around the country indicted the perpetrators. These citizens suffer socio-economic deprivation and relate their real or imagined experiences of disrespect and deficits to their inability to compete with foreigners" (Booyesen 2015, April 19; The Sunday Independent; Lovesol 2015, April 19, The Sunday Tribune).

At the same time as foreigners are seen as capable entrepreneurs, thus able to conduct their own lives, they are accused to do so by illegal and unethical means: *using aggressive marketing tactics* or at least in an unserious, dirty or careless way: *They are turning our small towns into cramped slum areas. The nice corner shop has now been sub divided into four depressing garage door shops, all super markets, untidy signage.*

"They employ several business strategies that give them the edge over local counterparts, such as strategically locating spaza shops, frequently buying a variety of stock in large quantities, adopting strict saving practices, offering lower prices, using aggressive marketing tactics and generating loyalty by giving credit" (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day).
"These were that informal traders in the townships could not compete with the prices which foreign-owned businesses were selling their products, criminality that foreigners were involved in and a lack of respect shown by foreigners to locals" (News24 wire 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian).
"While most South Africans have learnt to accept and share these open-door policies with the government, considering that many foreigners have entrenched themselves in our society and in business, and made this their home, some are not in favour and are hitting back. The perpetrators want to rescind the invitation given to our foreign guests for overstaying their welcome" (Alma 2015, April 20, The Mercury).
"MY gripe with foreigners is the way they treat our trading spaces. They are turning our small towns into cramped slum areas. The nice corner shop has now been sub divided into four depressing garage door shops ,all super markets, untidy signage" (Mbewu 2015, April 18, Daily Dispatch).

This coverage shows a pattern of an economically defined lens, which frames the expatriate as economic threat through occupying state resources regarding sanitation, security (police, military), health, infrastructure, immigration officials, education and scarce resources like electricity and water. *Foreigners are unofficially entering and drawing on South African infrastructure.* Through illegal means like *false identity documents or marriage certificates*, expatriate pursue *social services*, access to *child support and disability grants*. This is seen as *disturbing social systems, putting pressure on the country's economy and resources, living at the expense of our progress* and consequently *drawing on South Africa's social infrastructure*. Phrased as *visible stress on essential* and exemplified on *schools overloaded schools or not enough medicine in the hospitals*. A difference is made between *needy patience* and *people who have paid taxed all their lives* and thus *entitled to such social and welfare services*. Having this confirmed from official voices like the Zimbabwean President Mugabe, or at least having his statement like the Zumas overly recited in media coverage at least keeps the image alive. The subtraction of economic and social means is connected to illegal activities defined as *lawlessness, unofficial, whether legally entitled, through jumping the border. Enjoying the country's wealth* additionally creates the image of acting in full consciousness and hedonistic pleasure.

"This week's **xenophobia** was a **case of two-sided lawlessness: foreigners** **unofficially entering and drawing on South African social infrastructure plus** lawlessness in terms of seeking real or imagined revenge, looting and killing by a minority substantial" (Booyesen 2015, April 19; The Sunday Independent; Lovesol 2015, April 19, The Sunday Tribune).

"In collusion **with corrupt Home Affairs officials,** **fake documents are issued - which abets the application for false identity documents and marriage certificates, social, child-support and disability grants**" (Govender 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).

"Our schools are overloaded and there is not enough medicine in the hospitals to dispense to needy patients. **People who have paid taxes all their lives and are entitled to such social and welfare services have to do without**" (Govender 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).

<p>“There is a visible stress on these essential services” (Govender 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“He (Mugabe) also thanked Pretoria for its tolerance of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants, "as our people have really offended... by jumping the border and disturbing your social systems" (Fabricius 2015, April 9, Pretoria News, Fabricius 2015, April 8, the Star)</p>
<p>“PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe has conceded that the political problems in Zimbabwe have led to his people coming to South Africa in droves thus putting pressure on the country's economy and resources” (Matlala 2015, April 9, The Herald; Matlala 2015, April , Sowetan)</p>
<p>“This week's xenophobia was a case of two-sided lawlessness: foreigners unofficially entering and drawing on South African social infrastructure plus lawlessness in terms of seeking real or imagined revenge, looting and killing by a minority substantial” (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Independent; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).</p>
<p>“enjoying the country's wealth at the expense of South Africans” (Malefane 2015, April 13, Sowetan).</p>
<p>"When African refugees walk in here ... they go to townships predominantly and there's a scramble for resources there and the tension takes the form of Afrophobia” (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald; News 24.com, April 13, Mail &amp; Guardian).</p>
<p>“They are here to make money but they should not be allowed to do so at the expense of our progress” (Mbewu 2015, April 18, Independent on Saturday).</p>
<p>“After 1994, the project was to liberate South Africans from poverty and inequality. Given the size of the challenge, there would never be enough resources and what we had, had to be judiciously managed (Naicker 2015, April 20, Business Day).</p>
<p>“We had to deliver millions of houses, schooling for every child, healthcare for the indigent, water, electricity, municipal services, jobs for school and university graduates, jobs for the millions of illiterate and unskilled, and so much more” (Naicker 2015, April 20, Business Day).</p>
<p>“It was irresponsible to open our borders to millions of refugees, asylum seekers and criminals to the extent that we cannot accurately account for them. Even more short-sighted was to expect and encourage the integration of foreign nationals with South Africans, thereby placing them in competition for housing, jobs, schooling and healthcare” (Naicker 2015, April 20, Business Day).</p>
<p>“Many countries supported us at great expense during the liberation struggle. But could we afford a deluge of refugees and others?” (Naicker 2015, April 20, Business Day).</p>

The last three statements show an opinion which does not consider social services as something basic provided to everybody without exception. It is seen as privilege of citizenship and nevertheless as a burden to the state. Therefore, it is impossible to share it with others. It is *irresponsible* because it

was a *short-sighted vision of integration*, leading to *competition for housing, jobs, schooling and healthcare*. Compassion due to an obligation of historical duty in the name of solidarity and human rights again finds its limits here: *a deluge*, again the image of an uncontrollable natural disaster, is employed to show that there are no means even if wanted to deal with it or fight for it.

The fight against the perceived lawlessness conducted by expatriate also represents a monetary factor to be claimed:

Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba said his department had set aside R118m to deal with undocumented foreign nationals (Maphumulo, Dlamini and Ramothwala 2015, April 17, The New Age).
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So does the protection of the expatriate in the camps after the so-called xenophobic attacks. *Accommodation and 24-hour security is provided, so is shelter, measures to prevent infection from spreading are taken, tents, electricity, showers, ablution facilities, and primary health care supplied.* It is even said that the accommodation in camps is carried on the *taxpayer's money and that the government does not have the resources or experience of running a camp.*

foreign nationals would be provided with accommodation and 24-hour security (Post 2015, April 8).
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In Isiphingo camp, similar measures were taken to prevent infection from spreading (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).
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"We are worried that if there are people with contagious infections it could affect other people at the camps," he said (Paramedic with the police) (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).
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The municipality has supplied tents, electricity, showers, ablution facilities and primary health care in the form of mobile clinics where the displaced foreign nationals have been accommodated," (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian).
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He said President Jacob Zuma had issued a directive to remove foreigners from scenes of violence and to provide them with temporary shelter until they could be reintegrated into communities (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times).
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Mkuseli Apleni said multiple departments were responsible for implementing measures. While some would provide foreigners with access to work opportunities, healthcare and basic services (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day)
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The government must stop running away from addressing this issue because these people are expected to go back into their communities and we would have wasted taxpayer's monies [accommodating them at camps]" (Zuma) (Mail & Guardian 2015, April 15).

Gigaba said the government unfortunately did not have the resources or experience of running a camp (The Independent on Saturday 2015, April 11).

The problem has manifested itself in a number of violent and fatal xenophobic attacks spreading throughout the country since the beginning of the year (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day)

A common thread among the attacks is the competition for resources in resource-scarce communities. As our economy continues to provide fewer and fewer opportunities for participation by members of most impoverished, black communities, living conditions in townships are worsening each year. The economic recession, poor education standards and increasing youth unemployment coupled with an increase in people on the welfare system have resulted in a depressing, disenfranchising, volatile environment (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day).

I am not suggesting that SA does not have a xenophobia problem or that the attacks do not have xenophobic elements. However, I believe the definition and understanding of events have to be expanded. More factors need further interrogation (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day).

### II.1.3.3 Different approaches – capacity exchange and labor rights

Within the economy frame, there are a few other approaches presented in order to transform the situation of perceived economic competition:

It starts with the demand to create dialogue at *local level between our people and foreign nationals who are running businesses*. Furthermore, it notes already existing initiatives to *give unemployed youths something to do, create business information hubs for potential entrepreneurs and young people* and calls for *empowering Spaza shop owners* and for *forming committees to ensure that standardized minimum wages are demanded*. In fact, these ideas are quite concrete and based on a local level directly with and between the most affected populations.

<p>"It does not make sense to keep on thinking that you can blame one person for the xenophobic attacks. I am of a view that a serious dialogue needs to happen at local level between our people and foreign nationals who are running businesses within our communities." (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day).</p>
<p>Empowering spaza owners would also lessen the contest between foreign and local owners. Local entrepreneurs would be able to create jobs in the community. They could create businesses that could grow and become bigger retail shops and malls (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day).</p>
<p>Khula Business Tour was set up by various entrepreneurs in KwaZulu-Natal, with the focus on creating business information hubs for potential entrepreneurs and young people in 11 districts in the province. (Ngoasheng 2015, April 10, Business Day).</p>
<p>The local politician did his best to limit the damage inflicted by the attacks on the ruling party. Mhlongo said residents and their migrant neighbours should form committees to ensure that, when they sought employment, they should demand standardised minimum wages (Sosibo 2015, April 17, Mail &amp; Guardian).</p>
<p>The Business Unit 41 initiative in Joe Slovo gives unemployed youths something constructive to do after they were identified as the main perpetrators in previous attacks. They are now receiving incentives to protect spaza shops (Mbabela et. al. 2015, April 17, The Herald).</p>

## II.1.4 Conclusion

Following the analytical scheme, several main discursive frames crystalized. The dominant one is the conjunction of Illegality/Criminality, Vivtimization/Vulnerabilty/Passiveness, whereas the frame Securitization represents the connecting factor between all of them. Furthermore we find a small part of the discourse dedicated to Human Right/Ethics and another one on Economy.

## CHAPTER II.2 ACTORS

### II.2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the actors encountered in the discourse on migration in combination with the violent outbreaks within the media text. This includes first of all, the migrant in all its different appearances, later other actors, which appear in connection to the topic.

### II.2.1 The expatriate in its different faces and names of presentation

#### II.2.1.1 The other

Calling expatriates simply the other(s) signifies its reduction to something different and connotes probable incompatibility

Foreign nationals (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News; Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan; Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age; Hans 2015, April 7, Pretoria News; Makhaye 2015, April 8, Sowetan; Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day; Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan; Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan; Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News; Venter 2015, April 16, the Star)

#### II.2.1.2 Called by their names

Representations of expatriate include a list of individuals called by their names, which gives them personality and individuality. The majority of those are defined to be from Mozambique and Congo, followed by Zimbabweans. Some of them are attributed with further information as *came to South Africa for job opportunities*, *who was attacked*, *an asylum seeker*. All three assignments represent a situation of vulnerability. Furthermore, there is one *couple with their two children*.

Rose Manuel from Mozambique (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan); Mozambican national, Francisco Mashaba (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan); Patrick Horacio Nhamageho, 29, from Mozambique (Shaikh 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune); Oshwald, a Mozambican man from Quarry Heights near Avoca who was attacked (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday); Mozambican national Ernesto Nhamuave (Cape Argus 2015,

April 20a); Linda and Belinda are also from Mozambique, and came to South Africa for job opportunities 10 years and two years ago respectively (The Independent on Saturday 2015, April 18)
Congolese couple Coco Bishogo and Kasai Ruvinga, who run a salon, with their two children, aged six and four (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times); Makelele, 22, is among hundreds of foreign nationals, mostly from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Hans 2015, April, 7, The Mercury); Pierre Kazongo, a Congolese (Makhaye 2015, April 9, Sowetan), An asylum seeker, Kabango Hussein, Ocean, 29, from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5); Chikuru from Democratic Republic of Congo (Nene 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)
ZIMBABWEAN Sthulisile Mpofu (Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times); Zimbabwean national, Happy Molosta (Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan); ZIMBABWEAN Emanuel Venge Mundai (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan); Lloyd Machigika, a 27-year-old Zimbabwean (Shaikh 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune); a severely injured Zimbabwean (Manda 2015, April 10, The Mercury)
Liberian Austin Teage (Hans & Ngubane 2015, April 20, The Mercury)

### II.2.1.3 In combination with their professions

No more than ten are mentioned together with their professions. Those include a *pastor*, a *maid*, a *truck driver*, a *hairstresser*, a *beauty salon owner*, 4 *shop owners* and a *project manager*. Nationalities in these sections include *Nigeria*, *Malawi*, *Somali*, and *Ethiopia*, as well as *Congo*.

Climate Mushanga, 48, who has been a pastor in Chatsworth (April 20, 2015, The Mercury); Memory Zhou, 40, who had been working as a maid in Pinetown (April 20, 2015, The Mercury); Clement Mapundu, 23, is a long-distance truck driver (April 20, 2015, The Mercury); Malawian hairstresser Edith Samson (Kalipa 2015, April 18, Cape Argus); Makelele, who co-owned a small beauty salon with her 31-old sister Salimi (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury); Somali shopowner Hassan Abdi, whose business operates from behind burglar bars (Kalipa 2015, April 18, Cape Argus); Nigerian Oscar Ikem, who runs a cellphone shop, (Kalipa 2015, April 18, Cape Argus); a Somali shopkeeper (Manda 2015, April 10, The Mercury); Ethiopian shop owner Aka Bob Amaha (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times)
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A few appear by names without nationality or are the only ones of their countries, coming from *Malawi* and *Burundi*.



Buloze and her friend Noela Chikuru, 15 (Nene 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune 3); in Durban, Ephrem Tesfaye (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day); Burundian Moses Nyabenda (Makhaye 2015, April 8, Sowetan); Nigerian Amvri Djuma, 32 (Ngubane 2015, April 3, The Mercury); Malawian Saidi Adamu (Ngubane 2015, April 9, Sowetan 1)

#### II.2.1.4 As parents

A few are presented as parents and with their children. One of the children attends *3rd grade at greenwood primary school*. A *16-year-old son* has not been *seen since* the mother *arrived in the camp*. Having family shows some of their surroundings, a human side and a personal value or responsibility that exceeds their own pure existence. Missing or feeding a son shows them as humans.

Trying to comfort her crying child, Adibisho Seza Oliver, a 29-year-old mother from the Kivu province of the DRC (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5); Salima Mkeyo, her one-year-old son, Byeve Abdoul (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5); Alex Ombre, feeding his son, Joseph (Olifant 2015, April, 2015, Sunday Times); Linda has a 9-year-old boy in Grade 3 at Greenwood Primary School and a 16-year-old son who she has not seen since arriving at the camp (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday)

#### II.2.1.5 In their function as representatives

Some foreigners fulfill representative positions for their (national) community, acting as *spokesman, leaders, chairman, president* or *leading nationals*. Representatives are humans considered with talents and strength. Additionally, having representatives means being somehow organized in a community, which probably includes mutual support.

Daniel Dunia, spokesman for the group/refugees (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times), The leader of the Ethiopian community 26-year-old Lindiwe Ndlovu from Harare, Amir Sheikh, chairman of the Somali Community Board (Mhalana 2015, April 19, Sunday Times); Kana Willy Chikuru, a spokesman for the displaced foreigners (Makhaye 2015, April 8, 2015, Sowetan); Ephraim Tesfayi, an Ethiopian community leader (Makhaye April 9, 2015, Sowetan); Bahebwa Kabambire, president of the Congolese Solidarity Campaign (Mkhize 2015,

April 9, Business Day); Shako Kuminga, one of the leading Congolese nationals (Makhaye 2015, April 1, The Sowetan)

### II.2.1.6 As displaced and seeking refuge

A few of the ones appearing by name are *seeking refuge, are displaced or have permanent asylum seeker permits*. The attribute of states considered differentiation and according to what has been described above a certain legitimation for protection.

“Pierre Kasongo, one of the foreigners who had sought refuge” (Makhaye 2015, April 1, the Sowetan); Ozz Cheample, one of the displaced foreign nationals, denied that they were responsible for crime (Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age); Gudiso and Tamrad have temporary asylum-seeker permits (Staff Reporters 2015, April 17, The Star)

### II.2.1.7 In their specific ethnic and nationality groups

Defining specific nationalities and/or ethnic groups, shows differentiation, at the same time bears the danger of discrimination.

#### Zimbabweans

Zimbabweans in groups, besides one mentioned as a *couple* appear in high numbers. *Almost 600, hundreds, about 1000, 250000 the biggest community of foreigners, who fled in their millions into South Africa. Citizen and community* assigns them with legibility and connectedness within the territory of Zimbabwe.

hundreds of Zimbabweans (Hans & Engubane April 20, The Mercury); ALMOST 600 Zimbabweans (Savides 2015, April 20, 2015, Sowetan); about 1000 Zimbabwean citizens (Daily Dispatch 2015, April 18a); 250000 Zimbabweans in South Africa, the biggest community of foreigners (Reuters 2015, April 18, Daily Dispatch);

Zimbabweans, who fled in their millions into South Africa (Matlala 2015, April 9, The Star); A Zimbabwean couple (Mail & Guardian 2015, April 24)

### Congolese

The term *nationals* adds the attribution of citizenship and *members of a community* a legitimate belonging to a group, incorporating duties and privileges. *Countrymen* includes at least signs of mutual recognition. Furthermore, an extent of solidarity is expressed by as phrases, such as *them being shocked* because of their countrymen being affected by the violence demonstrates.

A GROUP of Congolese nationals (Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age); Congolese and other foreign nationals (Makhaye 2015, April 1, The Sowetan); fellow Congolese nationals (Savides & Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times); members of the Congolese Community (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News); The Congolese (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News); The Congolese were shocked and confused, he said, especially because five of their countrymen (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News)

### Mozambicans

*Most of* and *some* are quantitatively and qualitatively unspecific descriptions.

Mozambicans (Cape Argus 2015, April 20a; Wilkinson 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian; Savide & Teputepu 2015, April 13; Olifant 2015, ), Most of the Mozambicans (Ngubane 2015, April 17, The Mercury); Some undocumented Mozambique nationals (Malefane 2015, April 16, Sowetan);

### Somali

The few Somali appear in numerical descriptions. TWO and 848.

Two people thought to be Somalians (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian, Makhubu 2015, April 20, Cape Times; April 20, The Mercury 2015; Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times, );

## Malawi

*Stranded in South Africa*, communicates the image of survivors of a ship accident, lost, helpless and trapped at an unknown destination.

Many Malawian young men (Tenthani 2015, April 16, 2015, The Mercury)
360 Malawians are stranded in South Africa (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald)

## Ethiopians

two Ethiopian brothers (Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times)
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## Groups in combination

<p>Malawians, Mozambicans and Zimbabweans. (Cape Argus 2015, April 15), 420 Malawians (Ngubane 2015, April 16, The Mercury); 390 Malawians (April 21, 2015, Pretoria News); Congolese, Tanzanians, Mozambicans, Malawians and Ethiopians (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times); Congolese and Ethiopians (April 21, 2015, Pretoria News); Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 16, The Times); 300 mostly Congolese, Tanzanians, Burundians, Mozambicans and Malawians (Olifant, 2015, April 8, The Times); by 23 Ethiopians and 12 Burundians (April 21, 2015, Business Day); Four Zimbabweans, 10 Rwandans, one Sudanese, seven Afghans and two Eritreans (April 21, 2015, Business Day 1); Africans from the region, Africans and Asians of foreign origin (Mthombathi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times); when thousands of Congolese and Mozambicans (April 20, 2015, Cape Argus 3); Members from various countries like Zimbabwe, the DRC and Kenya (Cape Argus 2015, , April 20)</p>
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It becomes visible, that the Nationalities mentioned regarding the so called xenophobic incidents and issues considered to be connected to this topic are primarily African and none of them is from Western countries.

### II.2.1.8 As foreigners

The most numerous description is the one of the *foreigner*. Undefined quantities include *these, the, every, many, more, numerous, dozens, hundreds, thousands and too many*. The expressed vagueness leaves a distance to unknown humans, either countless or in rather undefined masses too difficult to capture.

foreigners' (Refugee Social Services) (April 1, 2015, The Sowetan); These foreigners (Cape Argus 2015, April 18; Runji 2015, April 16, Sowetan); "many foreigners have also come to their offices to seek shelter and protection" (Makhaye 2015, April 1, The Sowetan); Many foreigners (12 citations); every foreigner (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury; Hans 2015, April 7, Pretoria News); numerous foreigners (April 16, 2015, The Mercury); dozens of foreigners (April 9, 2015, Sowetan 1); Hundreds of foreigners (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan; Savides & Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times; Ntuli & Manda 2015, April 16, The Mercury; Venter 2015, April 8, Pretoria News), thousands of foreigners (7 citations); too many foreigners (Hans & Ngubane 2015, April 20, The Mercury; Hans 2015, April 20, The Star; Maphum, Dlami and Ramothwala 2015, April 17, The New Age)

Discrete amounts start at 40 and climb until between 1500 and 2000. 2000 foreigner is a notable number. Nevertheless, further explanation on the source of these high, never the less estimated numbers is not provided.

a group of about 40 foreigners (Shaikh 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune); 400 foreigners, At least 1000 foreigners (Savies & Masombuka 2015, April 20 The Times, Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 20, The Times); between 1500 and 2000 foreigners - mainly Malawians, Zimbabweans, Ethiopians and Mozambicans (Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times)

Remaining, more specific descriptions are *man, infants, schoolchildren and women, illegal, Africa, mostly from Africa, mostly from neighboring Africa, many of them Congolese, from Malawi, a Zimbabwean*.

A foreign man (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan), the foreigners - including infants, school children and women, (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan) foreigners, mostly from neighbouring African countries (Staff Reporter 2015, April 15, The Times); Foreigners, many of them Congolese (Savides & Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times); illegal

foreigners (Savides & Masombuku 2015, April 20, The Times; April 11, 2015, Cape Argus; Angona & Kelvin 2015, April 17, The Star; Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, Cape Argus; Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury), Another foreigner, a Zimbabwean, who is renting a flat in the CBD (Hans 2015, April 7, 2015, Pretoria News); Foreigners from Malawi (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan); African foreigners (Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan; News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian; Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day; Hartle 2015, April 4, Daily Dispatch; ); illegal foreigners (April 7, 2015, The Mercury); foreigners, mostly from Africa (April 24, 2015, Mail & Guardian)

A special feature of some foreigners is the status of being displaced. The quantitative range moves between *hundreds*, *more than 240/320*, *500 attacked and displaced* and finally *2000 displaced*. The category of the *displaced* is the predominant one mentioned in combination with concrete and high numbers. Another characteristic which can also be referred to the aspect of vulnerability is **FEARFUL**.

displaced foreigners (April 6, 2015, The Mercury; April 10, 2015, Sowetan; April 30, 2015, Business Day); the hundreds of displaced foreigners (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan); hundreds of foreigners who have been displaced April 20, 2015, Sowetan); 240 displaced foreigners (April 5, 2015, Sunday Tribune); 2000 displaced foreigners. (April 16, 2015, Sowetan); more than 320 displaced foreigners and their children (April 8, 2015, Sowetan); 2000 displaced foreigners. Three foreign nationals and two South Africans - including a 14-year-old (April 16, 2015, Sowetan); 500 attacked and displaced foreigners (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday); Fearful foreigners (April 8, 2015, Sowetan)

### II.2.1.9 As foreign nationals

Foreign nationals appear in combination with *all*, *dozens*, *170*, *more than 700*, *3000*. The numbers are steadily increasing as the month passes. *Displaced* and *undocumented* are added attributions of notions of vulnerability or criminality.

“all foreign nationals” (April 1, 2015, the Sowetan); dozens of foreign nationals (April 9, 2015, Sowetan 1); 170 foreign nationals who had been affected by the violence (Post 2015, April 8); 3,000 foreign nationals (April 30, 2015, Business Day); African foreign nationals (April, 4, 2015, Daily Dispatch); more than 700 displaced foreign

nationals (April 20, 2015 Sowetan); displaced foreign nationals (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day; Seleka 2015, April 20, Sowetan; Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times; News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian; Mbuayzi 2015, April 11 The Independent on Saturday; Makaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan; Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day; Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times; Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age); Mkeyo and hundreds of other displaced foreign nationals (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times); undocumented foreign nationals (Several hundred foreign nationals (Cape Argus 2015, April 20a; April 12, 2015, The Sunday Independent); most foreign nationals were undocumented. (Cape Argus 2015, April 17; Merten 2015, April 17, Pretoria News; Merten 2015, April 17, The Star); "SCORES of foreign nationals" (Makhaye 2015, April 1, Sowetan)

### II.2.1.10 As immigrants

The immigrant is supposed to be a neutral term for somebody who has entered a country different to the one of its birth, with the intention to stay there a certain time. Due to visible differences in the discourse between for example immigrants and expats, which is a division either following race/ethnicity/origin in combination with class/economic background or performance, I argue, that the term immigrant incorporates connotation of value. Ascribed features are *more than 1000, 1000, all, influx of illegal immigrants, African, from other African states, Somali and other, terrified*.

Immigrants (77 citations); Immigrant (92 citations); more than 1 000 immigrants (Hans, Padayachee and Ndenze 2015, April 15, Pretoria News), 1 000 immigrants (Cape Argus, April 16); All immigrants (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News); the influx of illegal immigrants (Business Day 2015, April 15); illegal immigrants (16 citations), immigrants from other African states (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian; Sithole 2015, April 15, Mail & Guardian); immigrant Africans (The Times 2015, April 15); Somali and other African immigrants (The Times 2015, April 15); native and immigrant Africans (The Times 2015, April 15), terrified immigrants (Bruce 2015, April 17, Business Day)

### II.2.1.11 As migrants

Migrant is the one who moves from its country of origin. In a similar way as the term immigrant, migrant bears interpretative negative attribution within the current discourse. There it is

is accompanied by descriptions of *international, from over the borders, illegal and undocumented, vulnerable (group of persons), economic, who own shops* and in quantities of *hundreds and tens of thousands*.

illegal and undocumented migrants, (Cape Argus 2015, April 13; African News Agency 2015, April 13, Cape Times; Lovesol 2015, April 13, Pretoria News), economic migrants (April 16, 2015, Cape Times); migrants from over the borders (The Star 2015, April 20); The resolutions, which firmly place the ANC on the side of South-South co-operation, pan-Africanism and strong relations with the African Union, also recognize, the rights of international migrants as a vulnerable group of persons and the responsibilities that they have towards their host country. (Cape Argus 2015, April 17); the tens of thousands, migrants (Bruce 2015, April 17, Business Day 2); Hundreds of migrants (Manda 2015, April 10, The Mercury), migrants who owned shops (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day); vulnerable African migrants (The Times 2015, April 15a)

### II.2.1.12 As people

On the one hand, the term people is neutral and therefore not categorizing or stereotyping. On the other hand, it might extend the distance to those reported about. *Undocumented, from other parts of Africa, scores, hundreds, 400 or 5000*, those descriptions silhouette the quantity of formless humans.

Undocumented people (Malefane 2015, April 13, Sowetan), people from other parts of Africa (Khoisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus); scores of people (Sibanyoni 2015, April 16, Sowetan; Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan); Hundreds (26 citations); 400 people (Ntuli, Manda and Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury), 5 000 people; (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday)

*All our people, including foreign nationals* demonstrates connection, unless it still needs to be especially confirmed that *foreign nationals* are people as well and further part of *all our people* (here our refers to the ones in South Africa)

all our people, including foreign nationals (Post 2015, April 8a)



The attributions of *displaced* and *will need accommodation* as much as *frightened* and *scared* in combination with *men, women, children* and *families* picture desperateness. *Scores of people* again implicate an undefined high amount.

*scores of people displaced* (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan; *1 026 displaced people* (Cape Argus 2015, April 20b); *many of these people will need accommodation* (Makhaye 2015, April 1, Sowetan); *hundreds of frightened men, women and children* (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday); *scared men, women, children and families* (Sanpath 2015, April 18, The Independent on Saturday)

### II.2.1.13 As fellows/brothers and sisters

*Fellow Africans* indicates being bonded in similarity or emotion. Referring to *brother and sisters* when talking about expatriate is a denotation which includes the relation of family, though blood or feeling. Therefore, it gives the association of connection, solidarity, maybe trust. *Our neighbors on the continent*, even being neutral shows a certain inclusiveness of those living on the same part of the world. *Other African nations* finally contains the *other* a sign of difference while at the same time the bond of being from the same continent.

*our African brothers and sisters* (Fengi, Feni and Platjie 2015, April 20, Daily Dispatch; Mphande 2015, April 20, The Herald); *our brothers and sisters* (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Independent; Ndamasen 2015, April 17, The Herald; Mail & Guardian April 17; Evans 2015, April 16, Mail & Guardian; News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian); *fellow Africans* (12 citations); *other African nations* (Upton 2015, April 20, The Herald; Ntuli, Manda and Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury; Staff Reporters 2015, April 17, The Star); *our neighbours on the continent* (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 19)

### II.2.1.14 As Refugee/asylum seeker

*Some, two-time, hundreds, 200, from the republic of Congo, African, 65000 recognized refugees and 230 000 asylum seekers, the numbers of those seeking refuge increased.* The description

of a *community of refugee/asylum seeker/illegal immigrant* creates an image of voluntarily chosen identities defining belonging to a group rather than acknowledging that ending up in such a situation is as result of no or very limited choice over their own situation.

Refugees (88 citations); hundreds of refugees (Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, Cape Argus); 200 refugees (Memela 2015, April 2, The New Age); refugees and asylum seekers. (11 citations); 65000 recognised refugees in South Africa, with another 230000 asylum-seekers (Hartle 2015, April 4b, Daily Dispatch) ;asylum seekers, refugees and permanent residents (Hartle 2015, April 4b, Daily Dispatch), African refugees (Post 2015, April 15; Nair et. al. 2015, April 14; News24.com 2015, April 13) Refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (April 21, 2015, Business Day 1); We have a massive refugee/asylum-seeker/illegal immigrant community (Cape Argus 2015, April 15, 2015); The numbers of those seeking refuge at the camps has increased (Ntuli & Manda 2015, April 16, The Mercury)

### II.2.1.15 Expatriates and their business

A few expatriate are mentioned exclusively in the context of their business-ownership:

Several foreign business owners (Cape Argus 2015, April 17a; Staff Reporters 2015, April 17, The Star)

on businesses and shops owned by foreigners. (Matlala, April 5, Sowetan)

foreign-owned shops (Hans 2015, April 20, The Star; Mbabela 2015, April 17, The Herald; April 8, 2015, Sowetan; Cape Argus 2015, April 16; Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan, Staff Reporter 2015, April 16, The Star; Cape Argus 2015, April 15a)

foreign-owned shops, salons and other businesses (Makhaye 2015, April 2, Sowetan)

foreigners - many of them Congolese small business owners (Savides & Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times)

CONSIDER this rather familiar scene.

You're asked: "So, where are you from?"

You reply: "I'm South African."

"No, I mean from where?"

"From Phoenix, Durban"

"No, no, where are you from originally?"

The subtext is that an Indian South African or a South African of Congolese origin - even if born and brought up in this country - cannot be truly South African. Such covertly racist remarks, dressed up as friendly banter or jokes, have become part of frequent encounters by certain South Africans (mainly of North, Central, East or West

African or South Asian, that is, Indian, Pakistani or Bang-ladeshi origin) and in a non-racial society to **boot**.  
(Post 2015, April 8a)

## II.2.2 South Africa's elite regime

### II.2.2.1 Leaders, Presidents and Kings

*President Jakob Zuma (200)* is the most frequent mentioned individual, followed by *Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithii (165)* and the *President's son Edward*. Other leadership personalities are *Premier Senzo Muchunu*, *Premier Phumulo Masualle's spokeswoman Nomfanelo Kota*. Presidents from other African countries like *Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe* and *Malawi's, President Peter Mutharika*, *religious* and *traditional leaders* also appear.

President Jacob Zuma (200 citations), **Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithii** (165 citations), **Presidents son Edward** (19 citations) **traditional leaders** (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie 2015, April 20, Daily Dispatch; Mphande et. al. 2015, April 17, The Herald; Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times; News24.com 2014, April 17, Mail & Guardian); **Religious leaders and politicians** (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5); **Premier Phumulo Masualle's spokeswoman Nomfanelo Kota** (Fengu, Feni and Plaatjie 2015, April 20, Daily Dispatch); **Malawi's President Peter Mutharika** (April 21, 2015, Pretoria News); **Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe** (April 21, 2015, Pretoria News)

### II.2.2.2 The government, ambassadors, officials

Following the leaders, there are also other political figures and institutions, namely *the South African government and the 53 heads of missions, government leaders, government officials, provincial governments, provincial executive council, the municipality, ambassadors, high commissioners*

**The government** (329 citations), **Government officials** (Cote 2015, April 16, Business Day; Cape Argus 2015, April 15a); **The provincial government** (Wilkinson 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian; Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times; Attwood 2015, April 12a, Sunday Tribune; Hans April 6, The Mercury); **the provincial executive council** (April 6, 2015, The Mercury); **Government officials** (April 8, 2015, Sowetan); **The**

municipality (April 8, 2015, Sowetan); THE SOUTH African Government and the 53 African Heads of Missions (April 18, 2015, Pretoria News); Congolese ambassador and dean of ambassadors Bene M'poko (April 18, 2015, Pretoria News); The ambassadors and high commissioners (April 18, 2015, Pretoria News), Government leaders (April 20, 2015, Business Day 2)

### II.2.2.3 Ministers

Mentioned and cited ministers are the ones of *Development* and *Small Business Development* from the economy section, the *Minister of Human Settlement*, supported by the *Chancellor of Mangosuthu University of technology* as representative of infrastructural questions, as well the information minister and finally the *Foreign Minister*, *Minister of home affairs*, *Home Affairs Director-General*, *ministers of defense, state security and police*, *two police deputy ministers* together with their *official police spokespeople* and an *Mec for Transport and Community Safety* as well as for *Tourism and Economic Development* and *Social development*.

His ministers (Mthomboti 2015, April 19, Sunday Times), MINISTER of Small Business Development Lindiwe Zulu (Magwaza 2015, April 16, Sowetan; Cape Argus 2015, April 18), Minister of Human Settlements and Chancellor of Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT), (Makhubu 2015, April 18, Pretoria News Weekend), Information Minister Kondwani Nankhumwa (Reuters 2015, April 18, Weekend Post; Ngubane 2015, April 17, The Mercury; Tentani 2015, April April 16, The Mercury; Nair et.al. 2015, April 14, The Herald), government ministers (Naiker 2015, April 15, Business Day; Wilkinson 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian) April), , International Co-operation and Relations Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day, Maghubu 2015, April 18, Cape Argus); Police Minister (Hans & Ngubane 2015, April 20, The Mercury; Hans April 20, The Star; Savides & Masumbuku 2015, April 20, The Times; Sunday Tribune April 19), MEC for transport and community safety, Willies Mchunu, (Sosibo 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian) Social Development MEC Weziwe Thusi (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5, Sunday Tribune), MEC for tourism and economic development, Mike Mabuyakhulu (Sosibo 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian)

#### II.2.2.4 The department of Home Affairs

The *Department of Home Affairs* is highly represented in form of *Home Affairs Chief Operating Officer Thulani Mavuso*, *Minister Fatima Chohan*, *Immigration officials* and finally the *Head of Special Operations to deal with the attacks Charl Annandale*.

Home Affairs (April 17, 2015, Sowetan), Home Affairs chief operating officer Thulani Mavuso (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News), Home Affairs minister Malusi Gigaba (April 1, 2015, Pretoria News), (April 9, 2015, Business Day; April 15, 2015, Pretoria News), Department of Home Affairs (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day; Naiker 2015, April 20, Business Day; Hans & Ngubane 2015, April 20, Business Day; Annipen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Soobramoney 2015, April 15, Post; Malefane 2015, April 13, Sowetan; Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5; Daily Dispatch; Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News), Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba and State Security Minister David Mahlobo (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day; Cape Argus, April 20; Savides & Masumbuku 2015, April 20, The Times), immigration officials (Independent on Saturday 2015, April 18; Cape Argus 2015, April 13; African News Agency 2015, April 13, Cape Times; Lovesol 2015, April 13, Pretoria News; Venter 2018, April 8, Pretoria News; Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times), Home Affairs and the police (April 20, 2015, Business Day 1), Home Affairs Minister Fatima Chohan (April 30, 2015, Business Day), Head of special operations to deal with the attacks Charl Annandale (April 30, 2015, Business Day), home affairs director-general Mkuseli Apleni (Magubane 2015, April 20, Business Day; Cote 2015, April 16, Business Day) April 30, 2015, Business Day)

#### II.2.2.5 Police

*Police* as second important executive organization regarding security and control after *Home Affairs* is also strongly visible. *Police minister Nathi Nhleko*, *Da Shadow Deputy Minister of Police*, *MP Zakhele Mbhele*, *national police commissioner Riah Piyege*, *Provincial Police Commissioner Mmamonnnye Ngobeni*, *Midlands* as well as *Kwazulu-Natal police spokesman colonel Jay Naicker* and *Constable Kenetthngobese* and *SAPS (South African Police Service) spokesman Major Thulani Zwane*.

**Police spokesman Thulani Zwane** (Manda 2015, April 10, The Mercury; Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day), **Police Minister Nathi Nhleko** (Hans & Nguabe 2015, April 20, The Mercury; Hans 2010, April 20, The Star; Masombuka 2015, April 20, The Times; Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times; Sunday Tribune 2015, April 19; Sithole 2015, April 15, Mail & Guardian, Savides & Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times; Malefane 2015, April 13, Sowetan; ), **Provincial police commissioner Mmamonnnye Ngobeni** (Hans & Nguabe 2015, Hans 2010, April 20, The Star; Savides & Masombuka 2015, April 20; The Times; April 11, 2015, The Sunday Independent), **The DA Shadow Deputy Minister of Police, MP Zakhele Mbhele** (Attwood 2015, April 12a, Sunday Tribune), **Midlands police spokesman Constable Keneth Ngobese** (Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan); **KwaZulu-Natal police spokesman Colonel Jay Naicker** (Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan); **SAPS spokesman, Major Thulani Zwane** (Sunday Tribune April 5, 2015); **Nick Holmes, a paramedic with the South African Police Services** (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan); **National police commissioner Riah Piyege** (Mbabela 2015, April 10, The Herald)

### II.2.2.6 Security forces and Military

Connected to Home Affairs and Police are other security departments and the military. The *National Intelligence Agency, security forces, the State Security Agency, SA National Defence Force Union, military personnel, SAPS officers and security guards, their officials and spokesman and the criminologist Johan Burger at the Institute for Security Studies*

<b>Security forces</b> (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune, Mkhulu 2015, April 18, Cape Argus, Mail & Guardian 2015, April 17)
<b>The State Security Agency</b> (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 19)
<b>State Security Agency (SSA) spokesman Brian Dube</b> (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 19 Tribune)
<b>Tim Flack, an official with the SA National Defence Force Union</b> (Cape Argus 2015, April 18, 2015)
<b>South African National Defence Force</b> (Cape Argus 2015, April 17a; Mapumulo, lamini and Ramothwala 2015, April 17, The New Age; Capazorio 2015, April 17, Sowetan; Runji 2015, April 16, Sowetan; Cape Argus 2015, April 13; African News Agency 2015, April 13, Cape Times)
<b>Military personnel</b> (Capazorio 2015, April 17, Sowetan; Cape Argus 2015, April 13; African News Agency 2015, April 13, Cape Times; Lovesol 2015, April 13, Pretoria News)
<b>SAPS officers and security guards</b> (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury)
<b>National Intelligence Agency</b> (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury)

Institute for Security Studies criminologist Johan Burger (Hans, Padauachee and Ndenzi 2015, April 15, Pretoria News)

### II.2.2.7 Mayors/City manager

Extended space is also given to (*municipality*) *mayors* and *city managers*, *provincial commissioner*, their *Deputies* and *officials* as well as the *chairman of the Community Policing Forum* and *Stakeholders*. The latter are not more specified, neither mentioned by name.

eThekweni municipality mayor, James Nxumalo (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day); Ethekewini deputy city manager of community and emergency services Musa Gumede (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5), KwaZulu-Natal provincial commissioner Lieutenant-General Mmamonye Ngobeni (Nair 2015, April 16, Sowetan); Ethekewini Municipality city manager Sbu Sithole (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day); ETHEKWINI mayor James Nxumalo (Post 2015, April 8); the mayor, Denzil Reddy, the chairman of the community policing forum (Post 2015, April 8); City manager Sibusiso Sithole (Hans 2015, April 10, The Mercury); eThekweni deputy mayor Nomvuzo Shabalala said the city, together with various government departments and stakeholders (The Independent on Sunday 2015, April 11); Joe Nene, an adviser to eThekweni Mayor James Nxumalo (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury); City officials (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury), Municipal official Bheki Mngwengwe (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury)

### II.2.2.8 Social Services/Human Rights

A comparably small space is given to actors of the social sector. Those include the *Durban-based Refugee Social Services*, the *Independent Projects Trust and Refugee Social Service*, *Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR)*, its *Head of Detention Monitoring Lesirela Letsebe*, *South African Human Rights Commission*, their spokesman *Isaac Mangena*, the *United Nations Human Rights Commission*, their office, former human rights judge *Navi Pillay* and spokeswoman *Tina Ghelli*.

Jasmin Rajah, head of the Durban-based **Refugee Social Services** (April 1, 2015, The Sowetan), **Commission (South African Human Rights)** spokesman Isaac Mangena (Evan 2015, April 16, Mail & Guardian); **Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR)**, Independent Projects Trust and **Refugee Social Service** (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times, Hans 2015, April 10, The Mercury); **the UN High Commissioner for Refugees**, the **UN Children's Fund**, the **Centre for Immigration**, (Makhubu 2015, April 18, Cape Argus), **Tina Ghelli**, of the **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees** (Bagubane 2015, April 20, Business Day 1); **former United Nations high commissioner for human rights Judge Navi Pillay**, **United Nations Human Rights Commission**, (Pillay & Capazorio 2015, April 17, Business Day); **LHR's head of detention monitoring, Lesirela Letsebe** (Venter 2015, April 8, Pretoria News), **Hate Crimes Working Group - a network of nongovernmental organisations** (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day)

### II.2.2.9 Churches and Bishops

The analysis indicates the existence of a diverse religious landscape in South Africa. Nevertheless, it is only sporadically presented. It is *religious/ church leaders, clergyman* in general, *the Roman Catholic Church, The Methodist Church South Africa*, *the founder and president of the Open Mosque*, *the Anglican Church Bishop* as well as *the Methodist Church Bishop*.

**Robin Phillips**, of the **Roman Catholic Church** (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day); **Church leaders** (Fengu, Fen, Platjie 2015, April 20, Daily Dispatch; Mphande et. al., April 20, The Herald; Attwood 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent); **Anglican Church Bishop Robin Phillip and Methodist Church Bishop Mike Vorster** (Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury; Hans 2015, April 7, Pretoria News), **Religious leaders** (Tswana 2015, April 20, Cape Argus; Buccus 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Pillay & Capazorio, April 17, Daily Dispatch; Pillay 2015, April 17, The Herald; Mail & Guardian 2015, April 17; Sithole 2015, April 15, Mail & Guardian; Attwood 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent; Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5; Hans 2015, April 7, Pretoria News; Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury) **Father Peter Lafferty**, commissioner for **refugees** of the **Catholic Archdiocese of Durban** (Attwood 2015, April 12, The Sunday Independent; Attwood 2015, April 12, Sunday Tribune); **The Methodist Church of Southern Africa** (April 20, 2015, Cape Argus 2); **Taj Hargey**, the founder and president of **the Open Mosque** (Tswana 2015, April 20, Cape Argus); **Clergymen** (Ntuli, Manda, Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury; Staff Reporters 2015, April 17, The Star; Hans 2015, April 7, The Mercury; Hans 2015, April 7, Pretoria News)



### II.2.3 Civil Society

#### II.2.3.1 Non governmental organizations, research centers, unions, community projects

Civil Society organizations and members appear in form of the *SA Minority Rights Equality Movement*, *Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelez*, *EFF leader Julius Malema*, the *Al-Imdaad Foundation*, *Forced Migration Studies Programm*, *The Democratic Teachers Union*, *Consortium for refugees and Migrant in SA*, the *voluntary medical response services* as well as *civil society groups*, *non-governmental organizations*, *community structures*, *local communities* and *students* in general

**The SA Minority Rights Equality Movement** (Ntuli, Manda and Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury); South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) spokeswoman Nomusa Cembu (Tlhabyue 2015, April 2, Pretoria News); "**Organisations like the Al-Imdaad Foundation** (Ntuli & Manda 2015, April 16, The Mercury); **Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelez** (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times; News24.com; April 13, Mail & Guardian); **the Voluntary Medical Response Services** (Nene 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune); **EFF leader Julius Malema** (Cape Argus 2015, April 17b; Pillay & Capazorio 2015, April 17, Daily Dispatch; Mbabela 2015, April 17, The Herald; Capazorio 2015, April 17, Sowetan), **non-governmental organisations and community structures** (Makhubu 2015, April 18, Pretoria News); **civil society groups** (Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, The Independent on Saturday); **People of different races, ages and religions** (Ntuli, Manda and Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury; Staff Reporters 2015, April 17, The Star), **local communities** (Runji 2015, April 20, Business Day; Naiker 2015, April 20, Business Day; Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5); **Students from tertiary institutions** (Ntuli, Manda and Regchand 2015, April 17, The Mercury), **Forced Migration Studies Programme** (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day) **Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in SA**, (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day)

#### II.2.3.2 Foreign nationals' associations

Finally, as smallest group presented are several *Associations of Foreign Nationals*, such as the *Congolese Solidarity Campaign*, the *shack-dwellers movement* and the *Somali Association*

“Yesterday's march was organised by the Congolese Solidarity Campaign and other bodies representing foreign nationals and was supported by shack-dwellers movement Abahlali base Mjondolo” (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day)

“Associations of foreign nationals, (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News); Ibrahim Shurte of the Somali Association” (Makhubu 2015, April 16, Pretoria News)

## II.2.4 Conclusion

Expatriates appear predominantly faceless, nameless and in groups. These are additionally ethnicized, as from selected African countries and in neutral, miserable or negative representation. In very few cases the reader is invited to see them as capable, active people or fellow humans of family like connection. Another extended space is given to South Africa's elite regime, including all government, military and police departments. Occasionally we find representatives of the Clerus, and from civil society institutions.

## CHAPTER II.3 METAPHORS AND THEIR CONTEXT

### II.3.0 Introduction

The following chapter aims to catch the imaginary and associated forms of how violence and xenophobia are represented. Furthermore, it includes the extended rethoric and reflections on both phenomena.

### II.3.1 The representations and associations of xenophobia and violence

#### II.3.1.1 As powers of misery and destruction

*Violence* and *xenophobia* are one of the most frequently appearing words within the discourse. Characterized as *horrific*, *escalating*, *deadly*, both leave *powerless*, *displaced* and *killed* humans behind. Both terms incorporate the acts, emotions and the humans perpetrating it, but evolve to almost autonomous terms, with the power to act as subjects.

"South Africa has witnessed <b>horrific violence</b> (Khoisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).
"killed during <b>xenophobic violence</b> over the past seven years (Laganparsad 2015, April 19, Sunday Times 3).
"An <b>escalation of ongoing xenophobia</b> since 2008, rather than a new <b>outbreak</b> , the week's <b>anti-foreigner</b> events" (Boyseen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune).
"M'poko said the <b>xenophobic attacks</b> had become more violent (Makhubu 2015, April 18, Pretoria News Weekend).
"They're a haunting reminder that within this tented environment, <b>fear and isolation</b> are part of an unfolding human tragedy marked by <b>xenophobia and violence</b> " (Sunday Tribune 2015, April 5, Sunday Tribune).
"170 foreign nationals who had been affected by <b>the violence</b> " (The Post 2015, April 8a.
affected by <b>anti-immigrant violence</b> (Mphande 2015, April 20, The Herald;
"The violence as we see it is totally out of control" (Makhubu 2015, April 20, The Star).
"He said <b>the refugees</b> were powerless in the <b>face of impending violence</b> " (Makhubu 2015, April 20, The Star).
"KwaZulu-Natal government officials and chiefs were yesterday struggling to find accommodation for <b>scores</b> of people <b>displaced</b> by <b>xenophobic violence</b> in the <b>province</b> " (Makhaye 2015 April 2, Sowetan).
"UNHAPPY CAMPERS: Children at the Isipingo Beach Sports Grounds, which has been turned into a camp for Africans who <b>fled xenophobic violence</b> " (Olifant 2015, April 8, The Times).

<p>“South Africa's deadly 2008 <b>xenophobic attacks</b>” (Olifant 2015, April 18 The Star).</p>
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### II.3.1.2 As time marking elements

Both, violence and xenophobia, are powerful elements defining time spans and conditions.

They are marking a turning point, leading to irreparable changes.

<p><b>killed</b> during a <b>xenophobic attack</b>” (The Sunday Independent 2015, April 19, 2015)</p>
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<p>“during the <b>violence</b>, which started” (Savides &amp; Pillay 2015, April 1, The Times)</p>
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<p>“poured into the Isiphingo Beach camp that was set up after <b>violent attacks</b> last week” (Makhaye 2015, April 8, Sowetan)</p>
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<p>“to return to their homeland <b>following the violence</b>” (Nait et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald)</p>
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<p>“Thousands mob KwaMashu police as xenophobic attacks continue” (News 24.com 2015, April 13, Mail &amp; Guardian)</p>
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### II.3.1.3 As personification with own powers of action

Describing *violence* and *xenophobia* as *outbreak* or an *erupting* force creates the image of a natural phenomenon, impossible to prevent and contain. These descriptions also depict a formation, whose size and shape is difficult to capture. Further completing them by the adjectives *fresh* and *frequent* adds to the impression of these phenomena to be something natural and somehow normal to happen. When aligned with *attacks*, *violence* and *xenophobia* can still be felt as particular actions performed by humans. However, *violence* and *xenophobia* as terms in themselves are disconnected from the human source behind them. Thus, they are converted into self-performing actors with their own lives. They are being caused by something yet to be understood.

<p>“DESPITE an outbreak of <b>xenophobic violence</b>” (Cape Argus 2015, April 20b, Cape Argus)</p>
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<p>“AFTER a <b>fresh outbreak of xenophobic attacks</b>” (Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, The Independent on Saturday)</p>
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"moving into communities to avert any outbreak of violence" (Fengu, Feni and Platije 2015, April 20, The Herald; Mphande et. al. 2015, April 20)
"There have been frequent eruptions of xenophobic violence over the past decade" (The Mercury 2015, April 20, The Mercury)
"violent xenophobic clashes that erupted" (Savides 2015, April 20, Sowetan)
"since the outbreak of xenophobic attacks" (Mhlana 2015, April 20, The New Age)
"since the violence broke out in Durban almost two weeks ago" (Shaikh 2015, April 19a, Sunday Tribune)
"outbreak of xenophobic violence in SA" (Business Day 2015, April 17, Business Day)
"many outbreaks of violence" (Staff Reporter 2015, April 15, The Times 2)
"Outbreaks of xenophobic attacks are being caused by largely irresponsible leaders" (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News).
"Before the violence in Durban erupted" (Mbuyazi 2015, April 11, The Independent on Saturday)
"The attack, said Dunia, seemed like a co-ordinated operation, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of violence" (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times)
"The attack came a few days after King Goodwill Zwelithini made explosive xenophobic comments" (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).

### II.3.1.4 As metaphors of a growing force

The image of *xenophobic violence flaring up* or *growing* contributes in a similar way to the modeling of a vivid construction, which has potential to develop. One statement explains *xenophobia* and *racism* having the *common seed of fear, hatred* and/or *feeling of superiority*. The seed demonstrates the origin of life. Following this image, the living organisms of violence and xenophobia must be killed or deprived of nutrition in order to not survive.

"during a flare-up of xenophobic violence" (Post 2015, April 8a).
"Growing xenophobic undercurrent" (Post 2015, April 8a).
"African and South Asian nationals have increasingly been at the receiving end of growing xenophobic undertones in the political rhetoric" (Post 2015, April 8a).
"Both xenophobia and racism grow from a common seed: a fear of/a hatred of/a feeling of superiority to others who have a different ethnic origin" (Hemosn 2015, April 13, The Mercury).

### II.3.1.5 As metaphors of a spreading force

After birth and development, the living organisms want to expand. The discourse describes *violence* and *xenophobia* to *spread* or to *flare up*. *Spreading* means expansion towards every direction, probably without specific pattern or rhythm that could be calculated. *Flaring up* is the nature of a flame or fire, a natural phenomenon with huge potential to destroy if not carefully controlled. The result is expansion *throughout the province, to Pietermaritzburg, Durban city center and homes* being *overrun*. It is a field of destruction coming into the cores of cities, which are the hearts of the urban organisms.

"xenophobic attacks spread throughout the <b>province</b> " (News24.com 2015, April 13, Mail & Guardian).
"spread of <b>Afro-xenophobic attacks</b> " (Saikh 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)
"It <b>has spread</b> to Pietermaritzburg" (Saikh 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)
"As <b>violence spread</b> " (Staff Reporter 2015, April 15, The Times)
"spread of the attacks to the Durban city centre suggested <b>the violence</b> was not spontaneous" (Hans, Padayachee and Ndenze 2015, April 15, Pretoria News)
"to deal with <b>xenophobic violence spreading</b> " (Hans, Padayachee and Ndenze 2015, April 15, Pretoria News)
" <b>XENOPHOBIA SPREADS</b> " (Hans, Padayachee and Ndenze 2015, April 15, Pretoria News)
"with <b>xenophobic violence spreading</b> in Durban" (Hans, Padayachee and Ndenze 2015, April 15, Pretoria News)
" <b>violence</b> flared" (Runji 2015, April 4, Daily Dispatch)
"homes have been overrun by <b>xenophobic locals</b> " (Makhaye 2015, April 1, The Sowetan)

### II.3.1.6 As metaphors of a destructionist wave

Another metaphor often used in connection with *violence* and *xenophobia* is the one of an oceanic force in form of a *wave* or a *flare*. A *wave* can be imagined as something growing and

converting into a violent and ruinous power. When calling them a *flare* their *catastrophic* potential is undoubtable. *A matter of time until reaching a certain level* furthers the imagination of a flood, violently entering safe spaces. *Escalating* and *spilling* over finally show that there is no way to stop them. *Heinous* adds a further description of horror. Calling it a STORM incents similar impressions. Originating from the sky, the storm demonstrates calamitous properties difficult to manage.

"After a spate of <b>violent attacks</b> " (The Post 2015, April 8, Post 1)
"During the previous <b>waves of xenophobic attacks</b> , public statements by leaders and community initiatives did help to put an <b>end to violence</b> " (Mthombathi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times)
<b>"This most recent wave of xenophobic violence"</b> (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day 4)
"Graphic details of the <b>heinous xenophobic attacks</b> that swept Durban this week have emerged, with reports of deaths and a number of severe injuries" (Manda 2015, April 10, The Mercury)
<b>"xenophobic riots that swept across SA"</b> in 2008, leaving 62 people dead and scores wounded" (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day)
"the <b>violence</b> in <b>South Africa</b> has soared so much that it has reached levels similar to war-torn countries like Syria and South Sudan, <b>foreign nationals say</b> " (Makhubu 2015, April 9, Business Day)
"not to allow the <b>xenophobic attacks</b> to reach the 2008 levels" (Mkhize 2015, April 9, Business Day)
"Durbanites were warning that it was a matter of time <b>before xenophobia reached the Banana City</b> " (Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).
<b>"the violence escalated and spilled over</b> into the town" (The Post 2015, April 8)
"shelter from the <b>storm</b> : Victims of Monday's <b>xenophobic attacks</b> (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times)
"Last night, <b>police</b> battled to contain a wave of <b>violence</b> as gangs <b>of migrants</b> armed themselves with machetes to fight off anti-foreigner attacks by locals" (Staff Report & Daily Mail 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent).

### II.3.1.7 As metaphor of a trap

The image of a trap is also often associated with *violence* and *xenophobia*. *Trapped by xenophobia, caught in a grip between morally indefensible xenophobia, the violence is gripping the rest of the country, xenophobia has cast a pall of fear, has claimed many more lives*. Like invisible

hands *xenophobia* and *violence* are depicted as catching or covering force leaving *victims* in need to be rescued inside.

Caught in a grip between <b>morally indefensible xenophobia</b> (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)
He said, thankfully, <b>the violence</b> gripping the rest of the country had not spilt over into the Bay (Mphande et. al. 2015, April 20, The Herald).
the foreigners said the <b>xenophobia</b> had cast a pall of fear over them all (Kalipa 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).
<b>Malawi, Somalia</b> plan to rescue <b>citizens trapped by xenophobia</b> (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald)
<b>caught in anti-foreigner violence</b> (Daily Dispatch 2015, April 18a)
<b>xenophobic violence</b> has claimed many more lives (Bega 2015, April 18, The Star)
victims of <b>xenophobia</b> (Attwood 2015, April 15, The Times 3) victims of the <b>xenophobic attacks</b> . (Matlala 2015, April 9, Sowetan 2)

### II.3.2 The rhetoric of setting an end to xenophobia and violence – the missing consideration of reasons and possibilities to their peaceful transformation

The necessary answers towards *violence* and *xenophobia* are expressed in the terms *to address it*, *responding to it*, *dealing with it*, *put in place necessary measures to curb it*, *stem it*, *stop it*, *to end it for once and for all*, *to wipe it out*, *to exorcise it*. Responding means listening to something (and adequately communicating back). To address incorporates receiving the message and responding to it, taking it to another place at least to further discuss it, to deal with it. Similarly, it means to work on it, unless it seems to be an approach of fast and firm action with the idea of quick disappearance of the problem. To curb or stem it evokes the creation of a wall or contra force which breaks the destructive power to move further. To stop and to end something for once and for all seems to have measures in place which will make something disappear at some point. Wiping and exorcising something includes equally the application of forceful, radical or violence or even counter violence.

<b>“responses to xenophobia”</b> (Hartle 2015, April 4b, 2015, Daily Dispatch)
<b>“to deal with xenophobia”</b> (Hartle 2015, April 4b, 2015, Daily Dispatch)



"Zuma assured diplomats in the country that his government would put in place necessary measures to curb xenophobic attacks" (The Post 2015, April 8a).
"to stem the violence" (Buccus 2015, April 19, Cape Times)
"Foreign heads join SA in pledge to wipe out violence" (Makhubu 2015, April 18, Pretoria News weekend)
"to stop the violence" (April 18, 2015, Pretoria News Weekend)
"to stop the xenophobic attacks" (News24 Wire 2015, April 17, Mail & Guardian)
"to end once and for all such xenophobic attacks" (The Post 2015, April 8a)
"Exorcise xenophobia" (Duarte 2015, April 15, Pretoria NEWS 1)
"to curb hate crimes such as xenophobia, further steps must be taken to address discriminatory violence in South Africa" (Saeed 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune)
"Gigaba also remarked that recent xenophobic attacks experienced needed to be dealt with" (Tlhabye 2015, April 1, Pretoria News)
"It is clear that it will take a lot more than an imbizo to resolve the issues that underlie SA's tendency towards xenophobia, especially when those organizing it are themselves inclined towards ethnic nationalism." (Mbewu 2015, April 21, Business Day)
"this violence must stop" (Hans 2015, April 20, The Star 2)
"to defeat the 'demon' of anti-immigrant violence" (Reuters 2015, April 18, Weekend Post)
"The DA Shadow Deputy Minister of Police, MP Zakhele Mbhele, on Friday called for urgent government intervention to quell the xenophobic violence that led to at least four deaths this week" (April 12, 2015, Sunday Tribune 2).

### II.3.3 Deeper reflections on xenophobia and violence

A few articles seek to offer the reader definitions and critical thoughts on xenophobia. We find considerations on interconnected effects of xenophobia on society in general, thus everybody being *potentially victim* to the opening channels for *hatred and violence* if SA continues to *condone and even celebrate* the anti-foreigner sentiments. Furthermore, the bridge between *xenophobia* and *racism* is explained as the former *entrenches* the second, serving as conceptual framework for *racial logic* and its *categories*. Another article, which also establishes the connection between xenophobia and racism, adds the theoretical concept of *Orientalism*. In line with the idea of Orientalism, othering

and stereotyping are explained as inherent part in xenophobic discourses. *Xenophobia and racialism are irrational attitudes stemming from a conception of creating a difference between us and the other. In their approach, they rely on a world view informed by stereotypes.* Some authors trace the etymological roots of the term xenophobia and offer the definition published by in Oxford dictionary stating *xenophobia is a deep-rooted, irrational hatred towards foreigners* Similarly it is explained: *Xenophobia on the other hand is comprised of xeno (stranger, foreigner) + phobia and means prejudice against anybody classified as "strange", "foreign", "alien". Afrophobia is prejudice directed against nationals of other African countries. These forms of phobia may also find expression through racism, ethnicity and tribalism amongst citizens of the same country who are diversely classified and identify themselves.* Additionally, it is questioned how deeply different forms of racism need to be seen as still existing deeper problems of South African society: *We are a damaged society. Violence is part of our DNA.* Other theories try to identify how reasons for xenophobic sentiments are sold from official side as solely consequences of poverty: *And we've learnt to justify it. When people commit crime, we say it's because they are poor.* In the same line, government is accused to not sufficiently condemn violence: *Protest marches have become an excuse for violence [...] with nary a word from the authorities.* Even on a legal level it is noteworthy that *the South African state has no official definition of xenophobia. As a result, xenophobia is not a crime in our law, and neither the police nor the National Prosecuting Authority are able to bring a case of xenophobia before the courts.*

"Call them what you will, xenophobia and racism are not only excuses for crimes against humanity, they more pertinently are seen by God as 'sin'" (Phillips 2015, April 13, The Mercury 1).

My warning is that xenophobia is a danger, not just to African foreigners, but to all of us. It is a way in which violence is condoned and even celebrated, and we are all potentially the victims of such violence. It is a knife at our throats (Hemson 2015, April 13, The Mercury)

<p>Fourthly, xenophobia entrenches racism. This is creating a new racial category, with its own stereotypes, its own racist names. It affirms the logic of racism that has continued to divide our society and create enmity and exclusion (Hemson 2015, April 13, The Mercury)</p>
<p>“THE letter "x" doesn't feature prominently in the English dictionary as the opening letter for a word. Mostly, the "x" precedes borrowed expressions, mainly from Greek. In this case the word "xenos" means "strange" or "foreign". "Phobia", as we all know, denotes fear” (Cape Argus 2015, April 20a, 2015).</p>
<p>“Xenophobia is a "deep-rooted, irrational hatred towards foreigners" says the Oxford Dictionary, the definition of which I prefer over a wordier Webster. This is because my encounters with xenophobia tend to agree with the Oxford version, the definition of which I would expand to embracing racism and Orientalism” (Cape Argus 2015, April 20a).</p>
<p>“What the dictionaries can't define, though, are the horrific outcomes - violent mob behaviour directed against those who have become figures of national resentment. Xenophobia, which targets migrant African minorities, is our great shame” (Cape Argus 2015, April 20a)</p>
<p>“to rid themselves of the subliminal xenophobe that still lingers within us?” (Cape Argus 2015, April 20a).</p>
<p>“We are a damaged society. Violence is part of our DNA. We resort to violence at the slightest provocation - in our homes, at work and in the streets. People are killed for a cellphone or a few coins in their pockets. Women are abused and murdered by their partners (Mthombothi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“We resort to violence as an alcoholic turn to booze for solace. And we've learnt to justify it. When people commit crime, we say it's because they are poor. A form of redistribution, I guess (Mthombothi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“It's a political tool, too, and not even the advent of democracy has been able to wean us from the addiction. Parliament in its short life has seen its fair share of violence” (Mthombothi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“Protest marches have become an excuse for violence. Armed with all manner of weapons, striking workers trash city centers and intimidate, even murder, non-strikers, with nary a word from the authorities” (Mthombothi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).</p>
<p>“And it is noteworthy that the South African state has no official definition of xenophobia. As a result, xenophobia is not a crime in our law, and neither the police nor the National Prosecuting Authority are able to bring a case of xenophobia before the courts” (Hartle 2015, April 4b, Daily Dispatch)</p>
<p>“Xenophobia on the other hand is comprised of xeno (stranger, foreigner) + phobia and means prejudice against anybody classified as "strange", "foreign", "alien". Afrophobia is prejudice directed against nationals of other African countries. These forms of phobia may also find expression through racism, ethnicity and tribalism amongst citizens of the same country who are diversely classified and identify themselves” (Mbewu 2015, April 18, Independent on Saturday)</p>
<p>“Xenophobia and racialism are irrational attitudes stemming from a conception of creating a difference between us and the other. In their approach, they rely on a world view informed by stereotypes.</p>

Xenophobia, more specifically, is based on the dislike and distrust of foreigners. Racism, on the other hand, derives from the notion that a particular group of people is superior to another. If the other is inferior, they are incapable of performing or expressing themselves in a way that qualifies them as people, and they can be discriminated against.
Fundamentally, though, both xenophobia and racialism are motivated by fear and a misconception of <i>belonging</i> . It is critical that we take stock of what brought us to where we are and why we must avoid taking the road backwards, which further engenders racial prejudice or Afrophobia. It is equally important that foreigners living in South Africa should respect the rules that govern our country” (Duarte 2015, April 16, The Star; Duarte 2015, Pretoria News).
<b>Xenophobia: a conundrum of <i>being</i></b> (Booyesen 2015, April 19, 2015, Sunday Tribune)
It is not called "xenophobia" but " <b>Afrophobia</b> " (The Times 2015, April 15a).
Nhleko says attacks on foreigners are not xenophobic but Afrophobic leave (Malefane 2015, April 3, Sowetan).

### II.3.4 The connecting of xenophobia to class, poverty and (organized) criminality

Another frame roots xenophobia in poverty and directly connects it to criminality and the natural laws of insanity. It is perpetrated by *xenophobe mobs, hungry for violent confrontation. There is – in a far away and underworld place – a lumpen proletariat underworld in which life is chaos, and xenophobia is but one expression of the laws of the world.* According to these laws, the violence is even *well-connected xenophobes and their implicit political agenda*, like an evil constipation.

“There is a lumpen-proletariat underworld in which life is cheap, and xenophobia is but one expression of the laws of that world” (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Independence)
“they were forced to flee their homes, often only with the clothes on their backs, as <b>vengeful xenophobic mobs bayed for their blood</b> ” (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Independence)
“But the 42-year-old builder says he is lucky and thanks his ancestors after he escaped from the clutches of a <b>xenophobic mob</b> ” (Makhaye 2015, April 10, Sowetan).
“Ironically, the very same assurance that was used to allay fears and justify appeasement is tragically in danger of being overwhelmed by the din created by seemingly <b>well-connected xenophobes and their implicit political agenda</b> ” (Post 2015, April 8a)
“Today <b>the violence</b> is once again blamed on "criminal elements" (April 15, 2015, The Times 2)

"Even more, the week brought evidence of marauding mobs hungry for violent confrontation - also with those who denounce xenophobia" (Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Tribune; Booyesen 2015, April 19, Sunday Independence).

### II.3.5 Horrific sceneries – common metaphors of destruction and disaster

This scenery describes *foreigners continuing to stream* or respectively that there is a *relentless influx of foreign nationals*. *The situation has reached a climax*, where the country is *facing an escalating/urgent crisis*. It is equalized to a *battlefield* or the image of the *country burning*. Other war-like imageries picture *South Africa as a ticking time bomb*, where *anarchy* and *chaos* as well as *hate* and *fear* is happening *on the streets of South Africa*. *Soweto and other parts of Gauteng went up in flames*, *SA's dream of a & Rainbow Nation& went up in smoke*, *flames of fear* It is a *toxic brew*, which *may indignant at any time* with the possibility to again end up in a *carnage* like in 2008. This movie-like script contains all possible negative emotions, again creates the threat of dangerous masses and the consequence of a situation similar to a civil war. If it is not already openly visible, or dwelling from the inside, the situation is in any case uncontrollable and destructive like fire, burning everything to the ground.

"Government officials scrambled to resolve the escalating crisis" (Olifant 2015, April 5, Sunday Times).
"Hate and fear in KZN" (Savides, Teputepu 2015, April 13, The Times).
"Durban was a battlefield on Tuesday when angry mobs attacked foreign-owned shops and foreign nationals" (Nair 2015, April 16a, Sowetan).
"the country is burning" (April 15, 2015, The Times).
we are dealing with an urgent crisis (April 15, 2015, The Times).
"FOREIGN nationals continued streaming" (Mhalana 2015, April 20, The New Age).
"The situation reached a climax" (Sunday Tribune 2015, April, 5, Sunday Tribune).
"South Africa was a ticking time bomb" (Nair et. al. 2015, April 14, The Herald)
"It's clear South Africa has serious problems. It's clearly a crisis" (Nair et. all. 2015, April 14, The Herald).

“Meanwhile, the country is burning” (The Times 2015, April 15a).
“Flames of hate engulf Durban” (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times)
“City centre is a battlefield as government insists it's in control” (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times)
“The battles broke out within an hour” (Nair, Savides and Hosken 2015, April 15, The Times)
“Chaos erupts at Durban march” (Pillay & Capazorio 2015, April 17, Daily Dispatch)
“Rainbow nation goes up in smoke on Durban's streets” (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day)
“South Africa's largest cities into war zones” (Kohisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus)
in “exacerbating the crisis” (Kohisan 2015, April 18, Cape Argus).
“ANARCHY, CHAOS ON THE STREETS OF SOUTH AFRICA Attacks a chilling reminder of 2008 carnage” (Staff Report & Daily Mail 2015, April 19, The Sunday Independent).
“In January, as Soweto and other parts of Gauteng went up in flames” (Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times).
“Toxic brew may ignite at any moment” (Msomi 2015, April 19, Sunday Times 2).
“relentless influx of foreign migrants, both legal and illegal” (April 21, 2015, Business Day 2).
“SA's dream of a & Rainbow Nation& went up in smoke, and our proudly multiracial and democratic nation hung its head in shame” (Baranov 2015, April 17, Business Day).

### II.3.6 Conclusion

Metaphorical associations in the discourse regarding violence and xenophobia in general create the impression of a natural disaster with its own powers. This creates implied necessity to simply eradicate them, as further supported in more extended discussions within the text. The created context draws lines between violence and xenophobia to class, poverty and organized criminality.

### III SYNTHESIS

#### III.0 Introduction

The Analysis has shown that the expatriate is presented within three major frames of criminality/illegally, human rights/vulnerability/victimization and economy which are interconnected through the one of securitization, which develops as inherent consequence.

De Genova explains the connections between the frames of "Illegality" as criminality, control/securitization/state formation, human rights and economy: Illegality as representation of immigration laws, and those in turn, inherent part of the state's constitutive structures, fulfills the generic role to constantly maintain its legitimization. All executive interventions of control and law enforcement within the securitization frame reciprocally reconfirm the established rules defining the formation of the state. It is an "active process of inclusion through 'illegalization'" (De Genova, 2002, 439). Economy and human rights comes into play as "undocumented migrant labor has been criminalized as 'illegal' and subjected to excessive and extraordinary forms of policing. The undocumented have been denied fundamental human rights and many rudimentary social entitlements, con-signed to an uncertain sociopolitical predicament, often with little or no recourse to any semblance of protection from the law" (De Genova, 2002, 439). Like this, "the category 'illegal alien' is a profoundly useful and profitable one that effectively serves to create and sustain a legally vulnerable-and hence, relatively tractable and thus 'cheap'-reserve of labor" (De Genova 2002, 440-441).

Firstly, the expatriate is connected to crime. Criminality appears in three different formats. One is pursuing criminal occupations in general or singularly mentioned in particular as prostitution and drugs. The frequent use of the term crime, while not closer defining it, leaves a scenery open for

various and endless imagination. The second variation of crime is economically, which will be discussed in the economic frame. The last and most dominant pattern is unlawfulness due to illegality. The expatriate is depicted to abuse South African territory as space of living and working, while not being legally entitled to. Further explanations on the conditions and rules of seeking asylum and obtaining refugee status are not given. Being undocumented is presented in the same imprecise manner. It does not clarify if this relates to not having papers in general, not having permanent resident status or being in the procedure of legal status application, or various different other possible sceneries. The close association of criminality and illegality, which comes by default due to international definition, nevertheless leaves the taste of expatriates animated by bad and obscure intentions, when coming to South Africa. The country itself is placed in a position of generosity, which then is subject to intentional abuse. Criminality connected to the very act of movement passing the lines of official limits directly leads to the technical environment of these borders. A huge part of the discourse thus is dedicated to the constitution of South Africa's national borders and the concern of their protection, exploring a vivid semantic variety of all terms related to manage, control, enforcement, and security. The possible protection of humans is contradicted to the safety of borders. Criminality or unlawfulness directly leads to the frame of securitization.

### **III.1 The rhetoric and executive of a securitization discourse – the mechanisms of legitimizing the nation-states power**

Moreover, the securitization frame incorporates various different conceptual paths and represents the bonding force between all other frames. First, it tackles the security and control of the country. In relation to this idea, the expatriates are increasingly depicted in uncountable quantities, as well as associations of natural forces, animalistic plagues or diseases. This triggers various



associational and emotional consequences. It establishes the threat of a dangerous source, acting due to own logics and patterns, and causing chaos and destruction. The individual expatriate gets absorbed in these metaphors with the result of its dehumanization in exchange to the establishment of entire organism-like creations. The resulting logic is the necessity of self-defensive, plastering the path for various counter activities. These include the catching of the animal, the curbing of the natural disaster, as well as expelling, or sending away unwanted elements. Followed by this is the very logical consideration of closing up as the best mean for self-protection. Considered lacks in the protective net are official procedures, legislation, anti-crime tactics, and border mechanisms. All these features, which are established and normalized in every countries' organization and natural order, stand in contrast to the boisterous nature of the expatriates appearance and behavior.

Patterns and logic of security move in the center of attention as responses to the violence directed by locals towards the expatriates. This so called xenophobic violence is repeatedly condemned. Simultaneously, the argument that the expatriates existence in the country would lead to uncontrollable problems, furthers the logic of the local violent perpetrators. This security based rationale includes- apart from the protection of the own country- the one of the expatriate. Extensive explanations on the countries incapacity to deal with the expatriates when it comes to their wellbeing after the attacks show the well-intended official forces arriving at their limits of possibilities. The discourse is almost endlessly milking the scenery of expatriates desperate in need for protection, which is the core of the human rights/vulnerability/victimization frame and the state unfortunately not being able to comply with this unexpected demand. It shows the very construct of the state in a condition of debility. A state being questioned in its management and protection skills is challenged at the core of its duties. Zigmunt Bauman explains this phenomena in the following words:

“The [...] mentioned sights [of migrants threatening the country] are after all guaranteed to create the atmosphere of a state of emergency, of an enemy at the gate, of plots and conspiracies – in sum, of the country, and so also of our own homes, facing a mortal danger. They are bound to entrench those ‘up there’ firmly in the role of the (sole, irreplaceable?) providential shield preventing awesome catastrophes from being visited on both” (Baumann 2016, 27-28).

Schizophrenically, as the state at the same time as it does not want to be questioned, the very moment of debility gives a chance to show active measurements to demonstrate the coming back of its strength. From the second half of the month on, the discourse reflects the extended measurements applied by the government. The expressions are taken from a semantic family of management vocabulary, transferring the social and very emotional issues of migration, xenophobia and violence to a highly formalized and technisized environment. At this point we are reminded of what Habermas defines as instrumental rationality, where principles of systemic sustainment single out the ones over ethics and humanity. (Ketchum 2004, 43f.). By this, the discourse establishes a mindset, which follows ideas of effective and quick problem solving strategies. It focuses on police, military and security forces and thus is sending the message of a reestablishment of the strong state. By focusing on the governments and security forces activities, the focus is actually shifted from the profoundly, highly complex and not easy to transform underlying issues, towards cosmetic and visible short time solutions on the surface: “‘Securitization’ is a conjurer’s trick, calculated to be just that; it consists in shifting anxiety from problems that governments are incapable of handling (or are not keen on trying to handle) to problems that governments can be seen – daily and on thousands of screens (Ketchum 2004, 30). He takes this thought even further, suggesting that “governments are not interested in allaying their citizens’ anxieties. They are interested instead in beefing up the anxiety arising from the future’s uncertainty and the constant and ubiquitous sense of insecurity (Ketchum 2004, 30)

### **III.2 “Neopatrimonialism”- extensive demand for the nation’s savior and the legitimacy of strong leadership**

Showing South Africa’s former president Zuma being back on track at representing firm guidance further adds to the focus put on the government’s responsibility to show power and effective action. After several weeks of the discourse reflecting his incapability and lack of leadership, respectively the nation’s protecting patron, his reputation recovers with every strengthening showcase. In general, there is a high overrepresentation of presidents, leaders, government, and other board’s officials, ministers, police and military heads and home affairs executives in comparison towards other social actors. An essay by H. Kwasi Prempeh, published in 2008 with the title *Presidents Untamed*, analyses and suggests that despite a variety of significant systemic changes with the rise of democracy on the African continent, “the phenomena of imperial presidency” as “notable feature of the ancient regime” is still in place (Prempeh 2008, 110). By this he is referring to “extant powers”, namely “control of resources and patronage continues to rest with the president” (Prempeh 2008, 110). Thus, despite of a decline of “leadership repressiveness” over “personal liberty and rival political activity “in ‘postauthoritarian’ Africa”, the meaning attributed to the individuals in power still follows the same idea. Accordingly, in this way of ruling “neopatrimonialism” replaces actual form of institutionalization” (Prempeh 2008, 111). By this, the multitude of activities performed by social actors, which in a democratic sense are meant to be in meaning and executive power at least on the same level as the one of the official apparatus and the president, are not believed to inherit an equivalent role, but merely fulfill tasks. The analysis here might show that this is a reciprocal condition, executed by the one in power and in a naturalized manner expected by the population. Prempeh calls this idea including “the singular ambition of Africa’s politicians” (Prempeh 2008, 110). If proposing that discourse is a mean and the product of social construction between all social forces,

one might interpret this form of political functioning as a reciprocal understanding between the citizenry and the individuals in power. “Africa found itself beset by the strange paradox of strong presidents sitting atop weak states – states that routinely lacked the requisite institutional capacities and resources to fulfill even their most basic functions” (Prempeh 2008, 111).

In this sense, failed promises of “development and social improvement” does not consequent in necessity of democratic accountability of ruling powers (Prempeh 2008, 112 f.), or demand for rule exchange and government reform from population, but a reinforcement of power demonstration: “publics at large in Africa have also not brought much pressure to bear on behalf of limits to presidential power” (Prempeh 2008, 113).

“Rather presidential supremacy continues to benefit politically from a widespread and persistent belief among influential sections of the polity that what Africa sorely needs is strong, non-nonsense presidential leadership” (Prempeh 2008, 113).

Even reversing, due to population concentration of the economic development “belief in the beneficent uses of preponderant executive power continues to run strong” (Bauman, 2016, 13) “In short, problematizing the crisis of African governance or development in a personalistic or leader-centered fashion helps to legitimize presidential dominance” (Prempeh 2008, 113). Baumann similarly states: “[...] failing societies [...] invest their hopes in a savior, a man (or woman) of providence, are looking for someone staunchly, militantly, pugnaciously nationalistic: someone who promises to shut out the globalized planet, to lock the doors” (Bauman 2016, 64).

### **III.3 Between patronization and security demand - The conditions of a fearful and insecure society**

Returning to the logic, a certain discourse being the product of society's conditions, norms and values, as well as reciprocally influencing them, the discourse, more than telling about the portrayed, gives insight of the ones producing it, as well as their surrounding mindset. Regarding a self-considered up to date open and welcoming attitude towards expatriates, the rhetoric articulates

sentiments of 'unless with every motherly feeling wanting to adopt all the other', unfortunately this would lead to a natural deprivation of the own. Presented hospitality towards expatriates now shows the supposed negative and devastating consequences of this generosity. According the journalistic presentation, it seems that the sentiment of the nation's saturation and the demand for strong measurements and leadership is articulated by different voices of society, including political parties, intellectuals, and church leaders. Going back to the concept of the open hands, a strong state and father like leadership with protective powers arises to new levels when demonstrating the will to save the expatriates, even under the circumstances of lacking resources. Both sides of the coin, firstly the presented self-attributed generosity as a visible sign of patronizing, and secondly the desperateness for security show a deeply twisted society. Zygmunt Bauman portrays it as

"The 'society of performance' [which] is, first and foremost, a society of individual performance, and of a 'culture of sink-or-swim individualism' – in which 'daily life becomes precarious', forcing the individual into a 'state of constant readiness'; [including] 'predictable income, savings, [and] the fixed category of "occupation", all belong to another historical world' " (Bauman 2016, 58).

It is a society, in which performance has substituted discipline with the result of individualized social members feeling unable of fulfilling the demanded requirements of adequacy and capability demanded from themselves as emancipated individuals (Bauman 2016, 59-60). This includes a lack of self-believe and the desperate imagines of the consequences of one's own imagined performance failure (Bauman 2016, 27). Apart from "the pledge to endorse a collective insurance against the hazards of individual life", the effect of "blackballing and exclusion" of the easiest to target for the own misery comes into place (Bauman 2016, 59-60). In reverse, a society consisting of weak members, "a society pulverized into an aggregate of individual performers" as Bauman calls it, is highly responsive to those manipulating their own power over this society in existential crisis

(Bauman 2016, 60). Consequently, the aim will not be to actually change the situation of “unpaid, insecure, precarious and unprotected interns”, leaving the uncertainty as privatized issue (Bauman 2016, 59, 60).

### **III.4 The conditionality of supposedly universal and inalienable Human Rights**

Precisely because of these social conditions, the logic of securitization builds the determining base for the victimization of the expatriate, which is embedded in the prestigious looking discourse of human rights. The framework of human rights shows an awareness of the meaning and the necessity of human rights. This includes the obligation to safeguard any person's integrity and the responsibility to protect. The discursive direction nevertheless tends highly towards a logic of vulnerability as sign of eligibility to obtain them. Thus, it is those who suffer from natural disasters or political persecution who shall be given shelter. The duty often ends where it would be in exchange for instability and chaos. Again, here the violence perpetrated on expatriates triggers an ambivalent logic. It exposes the expatriate to an extended situation of vulnerability. At this point it can be mentioned that the rhetorical and theoretical consideration of human rights, but on the contrary the lack of their practical importance or believe as well is reflected in the very few appearing actors of the human rights environment in the discourse.

### **III.5 Victimization – the expatriate's protection as the legitimization for control and deportation**

Expatriates are extensively portrayed as victims. The frame presents growing numbers of robbed and a sheer endless list of those being killed, nameless, uncountable, reduced to numbers or only memorized as victims of violent xenophobia. A few examples even vividly describe the cruel actions and injuries, thus complying with sensationalist styles of reportage. The powerlessness of the

victims is exacerbated as the individual committers, as well as the single actions are fused into the forces xenophobia and violence, thus almost attributing them an isolated self-existence. The countless deaths, being result of violence and representing the tragic end of human's lives, remain as untraceable moments of unknown individuals, somewhere in the forgotten and poor neighborhoods of South Africa. Through the stories of violence these places even more transform into inaccessible and untouchable territory of chaos and misery. The sententious space given to death as an ultimate condition of no return further supports the creation of a lost situation. The storyline of the desperate expatriate accompanies its way from having left its original home due to inhuman conditions, now fleeing the violence, seeking shelter, in need for food and medical support, thus in a constant line of dependency to the mercy of others.

Gathered in camps for their own protection, the misery goes on. Caught in graphic colors and details, a vocabulary of misery focuses on a situation of deprivation. It is one of the few moments where the expatriate is actually attributed a human face, actual persons are named and even their kids appear. Furthermore are their emotions included. Matching the rhetoric of victimization, these are emotions of sadness and desperateness. Passivity and incapacity are the remaining imprints of this image, which is creating a complete victimization of the expatriate. Like sheep, expatriates are said to wait for the next step. Voices demanding the establishments of refugee camps in general and the need to separate local from foreign communities is regarding South Africa's history of Apartheid. Some of them are given the opportunity of a little activeness as their following return to their country of origin is described to be a matter of choice. The rest are reported to be deported or simply being sent home. In light of that, another term of use is the one of repatriation. Both are morally backed up by the argument of the expatriates own security and protection. Now the imagery returns to an expatriate as one undefined conglomerate or groups of high numbers, as of to demonstrate the quantity of relieve, which

now has not in need to be taken care of anymore. At the same time, their presence inevitably seems to bring the country unmanageable disturbances. The entire security and various social services need to be mobilized in order to save the expatriate. Retroactively, this establishes the expatriate being a burden.

Again arguing that South Africa and its policies can be situated within the frame of an increasing securitization process, which as a side effect opens the doors for extraordinary decisions due to a declared state of emergency.

It means, for instance “military troops to be deployed [...] The sight of broken-down doors, of swarms of uniformed policemen breaking up meetings and entering homes without asking for their residents’ agreement, of soldiers patrolling the street in broad daylight – [...] to make a powerful impression as demonstrations of the government’s resolution to go the whole hog, down to ‘the heart of the trouble’, and to allay or altogether disperse the pains of insecurity tormenting their subjects” (Bauman 2016, 26-27).

The analysis shows this being at least backed up by a discursive process of migration as a security matter, thus establishing a Realpolitik, which is to a great extent subsumed under this paradigm and results in an abusive interpretation of the term humanitarian responsibility. This is topped by the rising number of governments that officially endorse the popular ‘security panic’ focusing on the victims of the refugee tragedy instead of on the global roots of their tragic fate (Baumann 2016, 44).

### **III.6 Converting humanitarian responsibility as a legitimacy to control**

The act of discursively combining humanitarianism and security also constitutes an inherent expression of the security society and by this a “distinct sector of security with its own logic of threat.” It is a strategic process creating the undisputable acceptance of a state of emergency demanding for an application of special policies and measures (Watson 2011, 1, 3). The concept of humanitarianism



serving as a powerful argumentative factor bears the risk of abuse as its boundaries lack of a precise determination, leading to what can be called an imperialism of humanitarianism, enhancing a legitimization of violence. By playing the humanitarian card in the international game of politics, certain parties are able to keep or gain power. The factor that contributes to the partnership of humanitarianism and security in its powerful significance is the reference to ethical paradigms of human life and dignity. In contrast to other notions of security which concern the state or the economy, the humanitarian security concept primarily addresses the condition of the human being, its well-being and its safety (Watson 2011, 4- 5). The logic of security includes three factors: '(1) existential threats to a referent object; (2) emergency action; and (3) effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules' (Buzan et al., 1998: 26, cit. Watson 2011, 6).

Once more, it becomes obvious that none of the three aspects are strictly defined and consequently there is an ongoing debate over "what developments qualify as sufficiently existentially threatening to warrant emergency action (armed conflict, disease, poverty, large-scale human rights violations), what types of emergency measures are appropriate (relief, development, intervention, nation- and state-building), how these measures should be implemented (independently and neutrally, pragmatically)" (Watson 2011, 7).

This again results in the problematic position of securitization between the normal and the emergency measures and the further danger of institutionalization of exceptional measures. Once they have been applied frequently and accepted by society, legitimacy is gained and even highly problematic strategies remain unquestioned. Furthermore, securitization pushes the involvement and manifestation of bureaucracies and military establishments forward, giving the field of humanitarianism to the hands of "security professionals and their administrative practices that are (usually) designed for the management of fear" (Watson 2011, 8).

### **III.7 Detention and deportation as ultimate forms to the demonstration of power**

“A key feature of the modern state is that its legal authority to deport applies only to foreigners and not to citizens”. Detention as the step before deportation, the gaping situation as act of separation within the same territory. “The widespread and growing use of detention centers to hold and facilitate the removal of non-citizens, for example, enables society ‘not only physically to exclude this population, but also, symbolically, to mark these figures out as threatening and dangerous’ (Bosworth 2008, p. 208, cit. Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011, 554). Deportation then is an act of continuation in the logic of separation. “Freedom from deportation power – the right to genuinely permanent residence – can be seen as one of the few remaining privileges which separates citizens from settled non-citizens in contemporary liberal states” (Bosworth 2008, p. 208, cit. Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011, 548). This manifests a relationship between the modern state and its citizens. As a consequence it is able to fulfill various major functions. Firstly, it is “reaffirming the significance of the unconditional right of residence that citizenship provides”, tellingly the rules of the game, “the normative qualities of citizenship (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011, 548). These standards are not only legal, but determined by value: “the political community’s idealized view of what membership should (or should not) mean” (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011, 548). Value in itself is not emotionally free, as it incorporates distinguishing or ranking in what is more valuable, thus better or achievable, than something else. If we remember the paradigms of the social construction of emotions, where valuating is a significant part in the process of defining standards and rules. Once socially accepted, it becomes what is normalized, what can be used as argument of rational consideration and point of reference not to be questioned. Secondly, it confirms, who is a citizen, which reciprocally sends a message to the citizen, reminding them of their privileges. Simultaneously, deportation by this represents a mean to reestablish/ renew the bond between a state and its citizens.

Like this, deportation as happening between the states executive and the one deported, indirectly, as a side effect acts as bonding activity in the relationship between the state and its citizen and thus confirms “the standards of the citizenry as an exclusive and valued body” (Anderson, Gibney, Paoletti 2011, 555). Furthermore, it marks the one not eligible to be excluded from this practice. “The act of deportation establishes, in a particularly powerful and definitive way, that an individual is not fit for citizenship or even further residence in the society in question” It sends the clear message that “the deportee as criminal, bogus asylum seeker, trafficker, welfare cheat, un-integrated individual lacks the qualities that are necessary for citizenship in ‘our’ state” (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011, 548). Finally, it demonstrates and strengthens the power of the state. “The right of states to deport non-citizens on their territory in a lawful manner is typically seen as a power that flows from the state’s right to control immigration. As states are entitled to prevent aliens from entering their territory, they claim a correlative right to expel aliens who have entered or remain in their territory. The sovereign power to deport is an extension of the sovereign right to exclude (Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti 2011, 549).

### **III.8 The incorporation of migration in the nation-state’s political economy**

The economy frame shows a visible pattern of human value measured due to a person’s economic capacity. Violence as well as the presence of migrants is seen as reason for concern regarding South Africa’s economic performance. According to this discursive frame, South Africa inherits an international reputation within the world of business, which includes important trade agreements. The facilitation of goods exchange is welcomed, as is the movement of useful labor, while those not considered to meet expectations are restricted. In line with the same argument, on the one hand the discourse to a small percentage expresses the need and thus welcoming attitude towards so called high skilled migrants. Another argument for their right to stay is in case they are offering a

great service with their businesses, and under the condition of operating in a lawful manner. Still, eligibility needs to be gained by completion of economic requirements. Furthermore suspicion of illegal business practices is articulated. The need for regulation thus is simply presented as a matter of rational considerations.

Together with the accusation of criminal business strategies, the discourse employs a rationale of expatriates constituting economic threat as employees on the one hand due to accepting lower wages and business owners on the other hand due to unfair merchandizing. In continuation this is furthering the explanation and the partial understanding if not acceptance that desperate locals feel the need to violate and expel foreigners. At this point, equally to the criminality frame, even though this view is not explicitly shared or even partly doubted, through constant recitation throughout the whole month, it remains one of the dominant associations in connection to expatriates. Reportage is neither seeking more profound investigating in order to support this argument, neither challenging it.

The second discursive string within the economy frame applies a similar line of reasoning, stating explicitly or suggesting indirectly how expatriates are eating from the already insufficient cake of South Africa's resources and state capacities. Obtained through illegal means, expatriates are said to take all kinds of social services, as well as infrastructural supplies. Some articles express that the poor locals already lack these benefits. By this, the discourse establishes not only a distance towards the expatriate but as well within the South African society towards the poor.

### **III.9 The management of human mobility - the circulation of negative and positive elements**

The existence of a security society brings new challenges concerning issues of surveillance and control. Due to various globalization processes, a security society finds itself confronted with open flows of individuals, goods and other entities since it is impossible to entirely control the

territorial integrity of the state and its society. A high degree of mobility is symptomatic for our modern age. Territory and its borders lose validity and meaning in the face of a transnational community that aspires to grow and extend evermore to markets and regions. Given this situation, “we see the mapping of non-territorial spaces – of labor markets, public health, income - distribution and so on” (Walters & Haahr 2015, 108). These non-territorial spaces are the so called open spaces (Foucault 2009, 19). In this state of uncertainty, the prime goal, and at the same time the main characteristic of the security society “is simply a matter of maximizing the positive elements, for which one provides the best possible circulation, and of minimizing what is risky and inconvenient within the open spaces, like theft and disease, while knowing that they will never be completely suppressed” (Foucault 2009, 19). Multiple entry and longer -term visas certainly bear the wish to profit as much as possible from the external. Bauman states:

“Capitalizing on the anxiety caused by the influx of strangers – who, it is feared, will push down further the wages and salaries that already refuse to grow, and lengthen yet more the already abominably long queues of people lining up (to no effect) for the stubbornly scarce jobs – is a temptation which very few politicians already in office, or aspiring to an office” (Bauman, 2016, 17-18).

The management of what Foucault calls positive vs. negative elements following the paradigms of economic efficiency reveals the rules of global inequalities and their racial implications. Expatriates from Western countries are not mentioned in the discourse around xenophobic violence in South Africa. This is directly due to their economic status, which leads them to mostly live in excluded, white and wealthy areas, thus not the ones where open violent xenophobia happens. In continuation according to them being considered as skilled labor and voluntary migrants, they are not included in the migration/securitization nexus. By this, migration stays racialized, as explained in the theoretical introduction. An expatriate's origin automatically defines its risk-factor and acceptance.

### **III.10 Xenophobia, violence and the metaphors of threat**

All frames are actually contributing to the refusing sentiments against expatriates. Criminalization/illegality, as well as all forms of economic competition or economic usefulness exploit a quite straight forward logic towards dehumanization and as a possible consequence to securitization and/or (violent) xenophobic lead. The repercussions of victimization within the human rights rhetoric thus work a more indirect way towards the construction of fear. Victimization never the less can be seen as further fueling xenophobia, as it follows the mechanism of translating another human's misery into a logic of 'this is too much for us to help', and anyhow not our fault into different forms and grades of rejection. Additionally, by this, it shows the insufficiency of the protecting system, but instead of questioning its conditions in itself, it is easier to ask for disciplining the existing. This counts for the one already on the bottom. The ones, already distancing themselves from this social ground, fall into a similar trap, as it is them in fear to lose the standard they achieved or incorporate due to circumstances and/or inheritance:

“For the out-casts who suspect they have reached the bottom, the discovery of another bottom beneath that to which they themselves have been pushed is a soul-saving event, redeeming their human dignity and salvaging whatever is left of their self-esteem. The arrival of a mass of homeless migrants stripped of human rights, not only in practice but also by the letter of the law, creates a (rare) chance of such an event. This goes a long way to explaining the coincidence of the recent mass immigration with the rising fortunes of xenophobia, racism and the chauvinistic variety of nationalism – and the astonishing as much as unprecedented electoral successes of xenophobic, racist, chauvinistic parties and movements and their jingoistic leaders (Bauman 2016, 12-13).

Reportage on extended security measurements additionally reconfirm the perceived gravity of the situation, which can lead to a further creation of panic and eventually even more incite xenophobia. Unless occasionally criticized, the arguments for law and order seem to win over most of the doubts on the activation of police and military forces. The created equation no expatriate - no problem – no

violence, actually gives the xenophobic ideas – as presented in the coverage, further legitimation. By this, xenophobia has found a normalized nest within the tree of security:

“And there is one more exceptional (that is, reaching beyond the ‘normal’, extemporal distrust of strangers) reason to be resentful of the massive inflow of refugees and asylum seekers, a reason appealing mostly to a different sector of society – to the emergent ‘precariat’: to people afraid of losing their cherished and enviable achievements, possessions and social standing” (Bauman 2016, 14.15)

The discursive presentation of xenophobia and violence in general follows certain semantic patterns, which by loosely associating or through standing metaphors transform both, either in combination or solely into phenomena of self-agency. The variety ranges between a self-living power, an all surrounding condition, eventually marking a before and after in time and space, over natural forces moving in different manners and degrees of destruction until materialization capable to absorb and eliminate. In general, the discourse is creating a framework of correspondence, as the associated reactions semantically circle around verbs and adjectives of forcefully banning or eliminating it. The consequence again here is the creation of a threat to security which requires radical strategies.

### **III.11 Religion, peaceful transformation and Ubuntu**

Apart from the dominant frames, the discourse as well offers and discusses, although to a smaller extent, alternative approaches and philosophies towards the topic. Here, the expatriates are named in less stigmatizing or defining ways, named as other humans or brothers and sisters. Unless a certain importance given to their vulnerability, most of this framework approaches the conflictive situation between locals and foreigners from a much more comprehensive vision. Thus, possible transformation requires mutual in depth understanding and long term paths of interaction. Furthermore, these ideas, predominately presented in connection to religious environments and through voices of religious leaders, elevate the current observed situation onto a higher level of human significance.

Ideologically, in this regard does the concept of Ubuntu stand out, which is only tackled in its basics. Ubuntu, as philosophical concept, originating in various African regions represents the idea that ‘a person is a person through other persons’. Searching for the core of humanness, it is represented in interdependence and communalism. The individual being aware of its existence due to the one of the others (Kamwangamalu 1999, 29), realizes that its own interests are part of the ones of the other. Thus, “communalism insists that the good of all determines the good for each other or, put differently, the welfare of each is dependent on the welfare of all” (Kamwangamalu 1999, 27). Normatively, it requests values as collective sharing, humility, solidarity, caring and hospitality (Kamwangamalu 1999, 26), as essential to an unconditional embracing of human dignity in a collective consciousness (Kamwangamalu 1999, 26). As a consequence, the individual acts towards the needs of the group. By this, “personhood and identity become value-laden concepts” (Metz & Gaie 2010, 275). Especially in an African anti-colonialism rhetoric, Ubuntu refers to pan-African solidarity.

Considering these principles, the observed xenophobic responses on migration and the topics representation in South Africa's societal and political discourse, indeed do not coincide with the ideas of Ubuntu. Neither does most of the media's depiction of it, as seen in the above analysis.

### **III.12 Conclusion**

The findings show high similarity with previous research in South Africa and discourses on migration around the globe. Thus, negativity and a reasoning along rationalities of economic usefulness depict a matter, which needs in depth analysis and human collaboration, instead reduction, denial, and fearful rejection. Ideas on humanistic and ethical approaches exist, but barely access the surface, as nation-state security and power structures win over the individual which almost singularly appears in its misery, incapacity, and racialized existence.



## CONCLUSION

From a perspective of conceptual differences between what peace researchers call war journalism and their proposed ideas on transformative paradigms of a possible peace journalism, the analysis shows a high tendency towards the mechanisms of the first. Thus, by examining how the media is framing the so called xenophobic violence on migrants in South African cities in 2015, it is to claim that the media itself is producing or further manifesting a perceived situation of emergency regarding SA's security. Firstly, it is supposed to be caused by the migrant's presence itself and the following various social and economic implications on the nation-states integrity. Second reason for the crisis is seen in the xenophobic responses within society, which are evaluated as to be hardly manageable. What appears to be objective and informative journalism on the topic, reveals to be highly repetitive and reductionist. Repetitive due to continuous reportage on the same events and statements, using the same drastic and fear-loaded vocabulary. Reductionist due to the poorness of quoted voices, predominantly those of officials and leaders, as well as due to the lack of context and profound implications. As a result, the reader is exposed to a framing, and consequently to a constructed perspective, which asks for further actions of control and protection. Simultaneously, it is the necessary protection of the victims of the xenophobic violence, which causes a perceived need of harsh up to down measurements, as misery seems to spread uncontrollably, causing another burden to the nation. What is left, is an image of expatriates, who are either voluntarily causing damage or drowning the rest of the country into misery, as a result of their own vulnerability and incapability to survive. By this, humanitarian values are abused and absorbed into the overall rhetoric on securitization, which in its extension sends legitimacy to augment security forces and expand their power. What seems due to the logic of journalistic objectivity an emotional free and singularly on rational arguments based discourse, is heavily loaded with fears. Metaphors implying all stages of

misery and catastrophe through equalizing migration and human violence to natural disasters, augment the feelings of stress. In their conglomeration, it is these stylistic presentations together with the narrow selection of the content, which are guiding the discourse into a state of emotional fear. As the discourse itself is complying with the overall global believes on migration, the reader finds itself in a familiar and paradoxically comfortable environment, while panic is created. Normalization and naturalization are thus covering emotions, supporting the belief of objectivity and dispassionate discourses. The expatriates is barely given space to articulate their own points of view, neither do we find further information to their personal histories, apart from lived misery. Victimization comes along dehumanization, reducing them to different nationalities, economic subjects, criminal troublemakers or objects of detention and deportation. Detention and deportation are presented to be the final and ultimate strategies to protect the expatriates, but evidently the South African nation. A nation, which so many others, does not feel confident about itself to celebrate and live humanitarian principles and not let mechanical rationality win over ethics. This leads us to generally question the current principles of nation-state and neo-liberalism. Additionally, we find high density of cartelization in South Africa's newspaper environment, where two major media group own 6 and 11 of the here analyzed 19 newspapers. As a consequence we find a limited variety in authors, information and opinions. Although a cold conflict, we observe what peace philosophers define as war journalism covering the situation. An exact possible presentation on topics like the so called xenophobic violence in SA, following the principles of peace journalistic paradigms expands this thesis. In its essence though it would seek to deconstruct the fear, knowing that a state of panic does neither prevent humans from migrating, nor provides the energy for new ideas. Furthermore it would present circumstances, as well as the possibilities and chances of migration, as they are well known in academic and political studies and discourses, in order to find progressive transformations of the

conflict. It would never support the idea, that detention and deportation, legitimized by declared states of emergency and the dismissal of legal steps could be considered as valuable solution to an issue of ethical concern and human rights. It would give voice to expatriates and national citizens, depicting both in their condition as humans with capacities. It would be biased in the sense to constantly seek the most truthful version of the current state and never be satisfied in the face of a stagnated imagery, simply backed up by an unquestioned principle of objectivity and definitions of legitimized sources. It would question power relations and take its role seriously to contribute to a global society, capable to deal with its conflicts in peaceful manners.

## FUTURE RESEARCH

Regarding future research, as the analysis has given hints on the considered importance and believe in Ubuntu, it might be interesting to investigate how combining Peace Journalism and concepts of Ubuntu could produce new beneficial philosophical and practical ideas. Ngairé Blankenberg already published an article in 1999 with the title: *In search of a real freedom: Ubuntu and the media ^my emphasis]*, where journalistic praxis is developed under the premises of Ubuntu as community concept: “Ubuntu is an ideal concept, and one which promotes an ideal of liberatory journalism” (43):

“The philosophy of *ubuntu* can be used as a foundation and a legitimation of a kind of 'liberation' journalism [...]. Liberation media takes elements of development journalism, participatory communication and a variety of other theories of media in order to come up with a concept of journalism which best addresses the needs of many African communities” (Blankenberg 1999, 50).

Blankenberg presented her ideas in the context of decolonialization and the overcoming of Apartheids violent structures. Despite their continuous relevance in South Africa, Ubuntu might offer essentials which can be applied in a universal context towards building dialogue and community through journalism within the challenges of global migration.

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## APPENDIX

Business Day (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

Business Day Edition

### Ministers vow to track down violence leaders

BYLINE: KHULEKANI MAGUBANE

SECTION: CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

LENGTH: 1028 words

Ministers vow to track down violence leaders

& 8226;'Co-ordination' investigated

& 8226; Warning to social media users

Political Writer

THE government yesterday vowed to crack down on perpetrators of xenophobic violence as police patrolled areas deemed to be hot spots amid concerns that the violence of recent weeks would continue.

Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba and State Security Minister David Mahlobo warned users of social media not to instigate attacks, saying they would be dealt with.

Government leaders from all three spheres tried to address the unrest, which has affected several areas including Umlazi and Isipingo in Durban, Jeppestown, Benoni and Alexandra in

Gauteng, and parts of Port Elizabeth. Pictures yesterday published by the Sunday Times of a man being killed in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Saturday reinforced fears of further attacks.

The latest attacks have claimed seven lives, led to 307 arrests and have displaced 1,026 foreign nationals.

Xenophobic violence in 2008 claimed 62 lives and left hundreds injured. Since then such attacks have occurred every year in all provinces except Northern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo. The African Centre for Migration and Society says its research revealed at least one attack on a foreigner each month since the May 2008 attacks.

Yesterday, Mr Gigaba said & co-ordinated attacks on foreign nationals in Durban were being investigated. However, the priority was the stabilisation of the situation and reintegration of foreigners into communities.

& The group in Durban which attempted to disrupt the peace march was surely co-ordinated. Someone provided them with the transport to come to town but we stopped them. We are investigating whether this co-ordination is out of anger or if it has a spurious purpose, & Mr Gigaba said.

Tina Ghelli, of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said it was assisting the government in supporting displaced foreign nationals.

After attacks on migrants who owned shops in Soweto earlier this year, it emerged that an early warning system promised in 2008 was not working. When asked why, Mr Mahlobo said his department had the capacity to gather intelligence on potential hot spots but limited resources prevented the government from always intervening as promptly as it hoped to.

& We do have systems to detect unrest from an intelligence point of view. But there are certain issues where the question emerges, even if you have an early warning system, will you be able to respond? You can report the issues but if the resources are not there, you cannot respond properly, & Mr Mahlobo said.

After 2008, the Department of Home Affairs mooted efforts to curtail the violence. Its 2008-09 annual report states the then department of co-operative governance and traditional affairs was responsible for & co-ordinating efforts to contain the crisis and assist those displaced. Home affairs director-general Mkuseli Apleni said multiple departments were responsible for implementing measures. While some would provide foreigners with access to work opportunities, healthcare and basic services, home affairs' work was largely to regulate migrants' documentation and their stay in SA.

Home affairs spokesman Mayihlome Tshwete said since the 2008 xenophobic violence, the government had introduced a migration hotline. & Platforms have existed, including hotlines and other mechanisms. But for people to take the law into their own hands is nonsensical. Those who take part in these activities are criminals who are taking advantage of tensions, & Mr Tshwete said yesterday.

President Jacob Zuma cancelled a trip to the Africa-Asia Business Forum in Jakarta, sending his deputy, Cyril Ramaphosa, instead. Mr Ramaphosa is expected to try to assure other leaders at the summit that the government has the xenophobic violence under control. The latest events have created tension between SA

and other African countries and boycotts of South African goods and threats against businesses operating in the rest of the continent have been reported.

Reports said the Nigerian government had given SA an ultimatum to quell the violence, failing which it would target South African companies in that country.

However, Mr Gigaba said Nigerian envoys had given no such indication to International Co-operation and Relations Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane in meetings on Friday.

But foreigners remain vulnerable. Arguing with a police officer about the attacks, a witness to the violence in Jeppestown said the government did nothing to improve his life and he had nothing to thank the government - and former liberation activists - for.

& Why should I care if people were in other countries during the struggle. They were fighting for themselves. They were not fighting for me. It's democracy in SA and life is still the same for me. & Michael Busi, a Nigerian national whose brother's car was torched in Jeppestown, said they felt helpless at the hands of mobs that have been intimidating and attacking them.

& My brother's car was burnt. They said foreigners must go. But what can we do when they approach us? It's hundreds of people at a time and you can't stop them, & Mr Busi said. He and his brother were considering returning to Nigeria.

Nduduzo Zwane, a local living in Jeppestown, said he believed opportunists were misconstruing comments by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to justify the violence.

Durban was calm but tense yesterday as migrants from other countries started leaving a makeshift camp in Chatsworth. KwaZulu-Natal police spokesman Jay Naicker said police had brought the attacks to an end.

King Zwelithini was expected to address an antixenophobia rally in Durban today. With Nce Mkhize

magubane@bdfm.co.za

Even if you have an early warning system, if the resources are not there, you cannot respond properly

A Zimbabwean man survived a petrol bomb attack at his home in Illovo, south of Durban, last week hours after President Jacob Zuma addressed a temporary refugee camp in Chatsworth and condemned the violence. Picture: AFP PHOTO/RAJESH JANTILAL

Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba warned social media users not to 'instigate' attacks. Picture: PUXLEY MAKGATHO

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Business Day (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

Business Day Edition

**Denounce violence**

**SECTION:** OPINION & EDITORIAL

**LENGTH:** 291 words

Denounce violence

After 1994, the project was to liberate South Africans from poverty and inequality. Given the size of the challenge, there would never be

enough resources and what we had, had to be judiciously managed.

We had to deliver millions of houses, schooling for every child, healthcare for the indigent, water, electricity, municipal services, jobs for school and university graduates, jobs for the millions of illiterate and unskilled, and so much more.

It was irresponsible to open our borders to millions of refugees, asylum seekers and criminals to the extent that we cannot accurately account for them. Even more short-sighted was to expect and encourage the integration of foreign nationals with South Africans, thereby

placing them in competition for housing, jobs, schooling and healthcare. The proliferation of foreign businesses in townships, displacing local spaza shop owners, would predictably lead to tension and resentment.

Many countries supported us at great expense during the liberation struggle. But could we afford a deluge of refugees and others? Clearly not. We are also responsible for propping up the despotic failed regime in Zimbabwe, with almost half of its population suffering the indignity of being refugees in Southern Africa.

Where are our intelligence services, which never alert us to impending violence? The government needs to define an approach to the management of refugees, plug our borders and root out corruption at the Department of Home Affairs and the police. At every opportunity,

government ministers must denounce the violence meted out to foreign nationals. Wishing away the problem and talking about reintegration of foreign nationals with local communities is absurd.

Jessy Naicker

Via e-mail

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Cape Argus (South Africa) 1

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**Attacks a dent on investor confidence - Busa**

**SECTION:** Pg. 11

**LENGTH:** 263 words

Business Unity South Africa (Busa) yesterday expressed concern that the violence against foreign nationals could have a damaging effect on investor sentiment.

"In an environment where our economy is experiencing fiscal constraints and where economic growth is not at the level required to create the much needed jobs in order to achieve the National Development Plan (NDP) vision 2030, the last thing we need is a further dent on investor confidence," Busa said in a statement.

"The continued violence against foreign nationals is sending a negative message to the international business community and could potentially affect South African businesses that are operating in the region and the continent."

While Busa welcomed the leadership shown by the government, it called for an immediate end to the attacks on foreign nationals.

"South Africa's political stability makes the country highly attractive to immigrants; South Africa has entered into bilateral and multilateral trade agreements which, among others, facilitate the movement of goods and people into South Africa from the region and the continent," Busa said.

"While we do not support illegal and undocumented foreign nationals to enter South Africa, we have confidence in our immigration framework and administrative institutions and we believe the government should deal with

illegal migrants within the parameters of our legal framework."

Busa is a confederation of business organisations including chambers of commerce and industry, professional associations, corporate associations and unisectoral organisations. - ANA

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Cape Argus (South Africa) 2

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**Spiritual boost for foreign nationals as churches, mosques show support**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5

**LENGTH:** 202 words

THE FIGHT against xenophobic violence that has been spreading across parts of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng received a spiritual boost yesterday as churches and mosques held events against the attacks.

The Open Mosque hosted a braai at the Rondebosch sports ground where people from all walks of life came to enjoy food, music and talks by various spiritual leaders.

Taj Hargey, the founder and president of the Open Mosque, said the event was the start of their campaign against xenophobic violence and that they would continue to preach the message at the mosque.

"We are all together, whatever religion and whatever race. We had some members of the immigrant community at the braai and they are thrilled we accept them as they are."

Hargey said the braai attracted about 150 people.

The Methodist Church of Southern Africa also hosted a service of prayer yesterday, in solidarity with the fight against xenophobia at the Rosebank Methodist Church.

Members from various countries like Zimbabwe, the DRC and Kenya attended the service where the district bishop, Reverend Musi Losaba, led the service and Pastor Xola Skosana, the chairman of the Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum, addressed the service. - Yolisa Tswanya

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Cape Argus (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**Townships are breeding grounds for xenophobia;**

**Those from disadvantaged backgrounds express most antagonism**

**LENGTH:** 1009 words

THE letter "x" doesn't feature prominently in the English dictionary as the opening letter for a word. Mostly, the "x" precedes borrowed expressions, mainly from Greek. In this case the

**SECTION:** Pg. 13

word "xenos" means "strange" or "foreign". "Phobia", as we all know, denotes fear

Xenophobia is a "deep-rooted, irrational hatred towards foreigners" says the Oxford Dictionary, the definition of which I prefer over a wordier Webster. This is because my encounters with xenophobia tend to agree with the Oxford version, the definition of which I would expand to embracing racism and **Orientalism**.

What the dictionaries can't define, though, are the horrific outcomes - violent mob behaviour directed against those who have become figures of national resentment. Xenophobia, which targets migrant African minorities, is our great shame.

The picture of Mozambican national Ernesto Nhamuave clinging to life after being set alight by a mob in the Ramaphosa informal settlement during Gauteng's xenophobic riots in 2008, is a harrowing image that has come to characterise the disturbing savagery of South African xenophobia.

Please note that I deliberately haven't used the term "post-apartheid" to frame the discussion here; our historical human rights shortcomings did not become new ones after Madiba. Three centuries of colonialism and 46 years of apartheid are not the kind of things that disappear overnight because of a different rule book.

Culturally, we are the heirs of an entrenched, violent racial irrationality that has constantly hallmarked our turbulent history. For instance, how many of us know that the first recorded xenophobes were the early Cape settlers who used to hunt the San, or that the Adderley Street Slave Lodge was used as a warehouse by the Dutch?

Gabiba Baderoon in her book Regarding Muslims explains that the obsession with the p-word on the Cape Flats is a direct result of black women being debased. The term

"Maasbekers", once referring to Mozambicans in Cape Town, is as loaded as "makwerekwere", the derogatory term for foreigners today.

Even in the stormy 1980s, sought shelter in South Africa from regional conflict, some of our Bantustans - to which they were confined by the government when thousands of Congolese and Mozambicans - deigned not to accept them. So should it be a surprise that in the 1990s foreigners would unfairly bear the brunt of socio-economic frustration?

Because of our mining industry we have always been an economically migrant society. In the pecking order that governs being a newcomer, our recent migrants fleeing war, famine and poverty have always been the most vulnerable in the most insecure and most impoverished sectors of our society - a place where competition for scarce jobs and resources is at its most intense.

Let me provide an anecdotal example of why I would say the above. A few years ago I was teaching a journalism course at a local tertiary institution. When the topic of xenophobia came up in a discussion forum, things got very heated.

Some students were adamant that the foreign migrants should go home. Foreign migrants took their jobs, sold drugs and unfairly occupied RDP houses. Other students argued that foreign migrants were hard-working, law-abiding and that the RDP houses had been sold to them by the very same locals who wanted them out.

As I sat watching these talented young minds let loose on each other, I began to observe a pattern emerging. It was a small class and I knew my students well. Those who were the most "xenophobic" in debate usually came from township environments, while those who were more tolerant generally hailed more from the middle-class ones. It wasn't scientific, but there was an observable trend.



It reminded me that apartheid's group areas had been designed to confine people of colour to the outskirts of cities. The poorer you were, the more you were pushed to the edges. With populations forcibly moved, they were suppressed by a psychology of state violence that, I feel, still festers angrily within our DNA.

I tried the same discussion on xenophobia with another class, and exactly the same thing happened. I tried it the following year, and again, exactly the same thing happened. Those from disadvantaged backgrounds always expressed the most antagonism towards foreign migrants.

Fascinated, I turned to a 2004 study on xenophobia by the SA Migratory Project that told me 21 percent of its respondents had felt that foreign migrants should be repatriated; 64 percent had felt there should be restrictions. It tied up with my findings number-wise, but I didn't encounter too much about setting - for instance, foreign migrants are not traditionally targeted in economically stable areas.

Given apartheid's stark geography, this lack of attention to socio-political ecology surprised me. I'm no expert, but wouldn't the institutional memory of our privilege-divided landscape be the key to addressing the challenges of xenophobia?

When you've been down in the dumps for so long, and your hopes have been extinguished by decades of municipal neglect, unemployment and corruption, perceiving a newcomer to be ahead of you in the queue is going to fuel resentment - justified or not.

However, what struck me further was another statistic. It showed that 87 percent of law enforcement officials believed 10 years ago - without any proof - that foreign migrants were involved in crime. This explained the bureaucratic disdain that is the bane of every migrant's life in South Africa. Xenophobia - I'm afraid to say - is our official, if not unofficial, policy.

Comparisons are unmistakably odious, but it does remind me of a mentality during apartheid that a black man walking through a white area was always regarded as a potential burglar. Even the dogs were xenophobic, and picking up their master's vibes, would snap and snarl at any person of colour.

Surely the time is ripe for our leaders, who appear to pay little more than lip service to the rights of foreign migrants, to rid themselves of the subliminal xenophobe that still lingers within us?

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Cape Argus (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition



## SA has 'got a handle on' the threat of violence

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5

**LENGTH:** 335 words

DESPITE an outbreak of xenophobic violence and looting in South Africa, the government insists its intelligence services remain competent enough to detect and counter violence before it flares.

"We are on the ground looking at various issues but to secure the country will also need South Africans to play their part. People with evil intentions stay within us," State Security Minister David Mahlobo said yesterday.

"We do receive messages, we act. The country is relatively stable today; it's because of the intelligence operations. Remember we have military and crime intelligence in State Security. We have a handle on the situation."

Mahlobo added: "Sometimes people co-ordinating their evil deeds are sometimes a little bit tricky, some few steps ahead, but in most of the instances (we are) able to prevent the incidents. If we can't prevent it, (we can) ameliorate it."

Gigaba Home Affairs Minister Malusi said the government had provided food, shelter and other necessities to at least 1 026 displaced people at shelters in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal.

President Jacob Zuma reportedly received a sometimes hostile reception when he visited displaced immigrants in Chatsworth, Durban, on Saturday. Gigaba said the people who were "agitated" during Zuma's visit were largely Malawians.

"They were protesting that their request for voluntary repatriation had been delayed. The first problem was that buses that were supposed to pick them up, organised by their embassy, had not arrived, yet those from other countries were being repatriated."

The repatriation process was delayed because immigration officers were struggling to cope with the numbers.

Gigaba said there was no excuse for South Africans to attack foreigners, even those accused of crime. "The reality here is that you have foreign nationals committing crime in South Africa and you also have South Africans committing crime... abroad. You don't see those South Africans abroad being chased down the streets because they have committed crime..." - ANA

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Cape Times (South **Africa**)**April** 20, 2015 **Monday**E1 **Edition****End the violence****SECTION:** Pg. **8****LENGTH:** 291 **words**

The xenophobic attacks in South Africa targeting African **immigrants** are particularly disheartening, coming two decades after the birth of a new South **Africa**.

The attacks have left five people dead and property worth thousands of dollars destroyed or looted by locals who blame their unemployment and poverty on foreigners.

This is not the first time the spotlight is on the **Rainbow Nation**. There have been frequent eruptions of **xenophobic violence** over the past decade, most notably in 2008 when 62 people, both foreigners and South Africans, were killed and more than 150 000 displaced in one of the deadliest.

Yes, it is true that native South Africans are facing serious challenges, among them, high rates of unemployment, crime and disease. Some feel frustrated that the sacrifices they made in fighting apartheid and ending white minority rule have not paid enough. They accuse foreigners, mainly from Somalia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, of reaping where

they did not sow by taking their jobs and engaging in crime.

According to reports, the latest violence erupted after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini stated that all foreigners should leave South Africa. However, King Zwelithini has denied the accusations, saying he was quoted out of context.

It should not be forgotten that many African countries stood by the South Africans in their struggle against apartheid.

This is the reason it is frightening to see Africans turning against their fellow Africans just because they are not natives of South Africa. This is not the **Rainbow Nation** that Mandela and his anti-apartheid colleagues envisioned.

The recent rally against **xenophobia** showed the whole world that the majority of South Africans are against **xenophobia** and support a **united Africa**.

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Cape Times (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

## Will king's imbizo bring sanity to SA?

**BYLINE:** Ntando Makhubu

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 1

**LENGTH:** 339 words

THE violence in South Africa has soared so much that it has reached levels similar to war-torn countries like Syria and South Sudan, foreign nationals say.

"The violence is totally out of control, but what is worse is the lack of leadership to stop it," Esaie Prince, of the Congolese Community, said yesterday. He said the refugees were powerless in the face of impending violence.

But foreigners are hopeful that King Goodwill Zwelithini's imbizo in Durban today would bring sanity to South Africa and help restore peace in the province.

Durban expects about 10 000 people to converge at Moses Mabhida Stadium this morning to listen to the king as he speaks about the attacks. Premier Senzo Mchunu will also attend the imbizo.

"The king has to talk to his people because we do not want this fight. We want to live in peace,"

said Nigerian Thomas Gaye, who lives in the Point area.

Foreigners spoke in the wake of the brutal attack, in full view of crowds of people, of Mozambican Emmanuel Sithole, who was stabbed on the streets of Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Saturday. He later died from his wounds, causing an outcry from large sections of the population - but that was where it would end, said Somali Ibrahim Shurte.

"It is sad that while ministers and politicians talk to the media and lay out strategies, the killings continue. We thought we were escaping murder and mayhem, but we find ourselves in the middle of that now. Tensions are high in the townships. They are ready to pack up and go home rather than live under the shadow of."

The refugees hardly slept for fear of being attacked in the night and could not operate during the day or walk around freely, said Shurte.

The Young African Royals, a group of young people from the country's royal households, said yesterday no amount of inequality justified the brutality meted out.

In a strong message they said discrimination of any kind, be it xenophobic attacks or oppression including tribalism and racism, was a violation of basic human rights.

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**Daily  
Dispatch**

Daily Dispatch (South **Africa**)

**April 20, 2015 Monday**

## **E Cape push for **peace****

**BYLINE:** Msindisi Fengu, Lulamile Feni;  
Poliswa **Plaatjie**

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE**

**LENGTH:** 884 **words**

Leaders act to prevent spread **of xenophobia**

By

EASTERN Cape **political, traditional, community and church leaders** yesterday presented a united front against the threat of xenophobia, moving into communities to avert any outbreak of violence and calling on residents protect African **foreigners**.

The leaders spoke with one voice in condemning any **violence** on **foreign nationals**.

Many **Christian leaders** used Sunday church services to condemn the **xenophobic attacks** and call on believers to pray for and assist those affected by it.

The Daily Dispatch and SABC radio station TruFM have partnered with Masimanyane Women's Support Centre to call East Londoners to an **anti-xenophobia** march at 1pm on April 28.

The march will start at the war memorial in Oxford Street opposite the museum and the Buffalo City College.

Tensions flared in Cala on Friday when a **28-year-old Zimbabwean national** was arrested on suspicion of murder after a body, reportedly that of his girlfriend, was recovered in the town.

**Premier Phumulo Masualle's spokeswoman Nomfanelo Kota** yesterday said: "We condemn

the Cala incident and we hope police will bring the perpetrators to book."

She said there had been high levels of tolerance in the province and the premier had reiterated calls for tolerance during a government outreach to Humansdorp communities on Friday.

"We have not seen copy-cat behaviour of what has been happening elsewhere."

ANC provincial spokesman Mlibo Qoboshiyana told the Daily Dispatch on Saturday the party would conduct anti-xenophobia meetings with communities.

"We have received a directive from our national office indicating leaders will campaign against xenophobia, afrophobia and tribalism in all regions," Qoboshiyana said.

At the time, Qoboshiyana was at a prayer meeting and a march held by the ANC Youth League's ward 4 in Beacon Bay.

A small group marched from Beacon Bay library to Nompumelelo Township to promote positive attitudes towards foreigners.

Sakhisizwe mayor Mlamli Jentile yesterday called for peace in the rural town of Cala where there were attacks and looting of shops owned by foreign nationals.

Since the incident, Jentile and his councillors, together with other leaders, have been holding meetings to quell any further attacks.

"We are pleading for cool heads. We urge people to embrace our African brothers and sisters and promote the spirit of ubuntu," said Jentile. Shops operated by foreign nationals were closed since Friday but the mayor said the situation was calm and they could begin operating again.

He said a stakeholders' meeting would be held in Cala tomorrow to discuss issues affecting foreigners.

Masimanyane Women's Support Centre executive director Lesley Ann Foster confirmed the march planned for next Tuesday.

"Violence and related intolerance do not affect all members of victim groups in the same way. Therefore Masimanyane is sensitising women in South Africa to actively act against this dark cloud that has brought forward shocking images and stories.

"Ubuntu has no borders; the values of love and kindness are part of African culture. It's in our nature to welcome our visitors. The dignity of all human beings must be respected, irrespective of where they are from."

In churches yesterday believers were encouraged to unite in prayer, according to the Eastern Cape Council of Churches' Reverend Mphumelelo Qwabaza.

"We are saddened by what has been happening in our country. As believers, we have all been created in God's image."

Qwabaza said South African citizens should share the little they had with other nationals.

"Our people must return to God and repent," he said, adding the attacks on foreigners could have negative implications for the country.

ULoyiso Community Church, one of the fast growing churches in East London, also had a prayer session.

Pastor Thozamile Gwanya said the xenophobic attacks not only had negative implications for South Africa but the entire continent would receive a bad image.

"This is not just about attacks but this affects our development on a larger scale."

Methodist Church Bishop Mthobeli Matyumza said special prayers were also said in their various churches.

"Our church always preaches about the issues of treating **our brothers** with love and respect. We emphasised that and hope to avoid any outbreaks in our province."

He said this week they would be identifying areas where **foreigners lived** or worked in order to encourage better relations with locals.

"Many (foreigners) **are helping us**. There are **many shops** in Mdantsane run **by foreign nationals**.

"They do not steal from anyone but are helping us. As people we must all learn to live in harmony with one another," he said.

**Eastern Cape House of Traditional Leaders** deputy chairman Zolile Burns-Ncamashe said the organisation would encourage dialogue in all communities.

"It is not enough to talk in the media. There must be a direct engagements. We hope the people who are perpetuating this will explain during those engagements why they were doing

this so we can address the root causes, not the symptoms."

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS**: Marchers carry placards calling for an end to the wave **of attacks** on **foreigners** in mainly Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal during a march from Beacon Bay library to Nompumelelo Township on Saturday Picture: MARK **ANDREWS**

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**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April 20, 2015 Monday**

**Bay leaders say no to** **xenophobia**

**LENGTH**: 1207 **words**

**BYLINE**: Hendrick Mphande, Msindisi Fengu, Lulamile Feni; Poliswa **Plaatjie**

Meeting held at City Hall to form a united front against attacks

**SECTION**: CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE**

Bay leaders meet to take a united stand against xenophobia

EASTERN Cape political, traditional, community and church leaders presented a united front yesterday against the threat of xenophobia, moving into communities to avert any outbreak of violence and calling on residents to protect African foreigners.

This follows the ongoing attacks against foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.

Many Christian leaders used their church services to condemn the xenophobic attacks and called on believers to pray for and assist those affected.

In Nelson Mandela Bay, leaders from different sectors in the metro attended a meeting called by former mayor Nceba Faku to discuss the xenophobic attacks gripping the country and to come up with solutions.

Faku, one of the speakers at the gathering at Port Elizabeth's City Hall yesterday, said one of the questions he was grappling with was why South Africans had so much anger in their hearts.

"As I sit here, I ask myself what is wrong with our country? Why is our country filled with so much hatred and anger?

"All things that are not constructive seem to be dominating - not only in political parties, but also with church splits and in the sporting code we are not doing well," Faku said.

He said, thankfully, the violence gripping the rest of the country had not spilt over into the Bay. "The metro has a rich history. You can imagine if the whole world hears of xenophobia in the Nelson Mandela [Bay metro]. Imagine the contradiction."

A six-member committee to take forward the fight against xenophobia was also introduced during the meeting.

The members are council speaker Maria Hermans, businessman Mkhuseleli Jack, the Rev Sicelo Dube, Congress of African Nationalists in South Africa member Sihlule Limba, president of the Senegalese Community in South Africa Shaik Wade and Faku.

Their brief is to foster a healthy long-term relationship between foreigners and locals in the metro.

Attacks have occurred in Uitenhage, New Brighton, Missionvale, Bethelsdorp, Kwazakhele and in other areas of the metro in recent years, but it has been quiet here this time around. Shop owners and foreigners in the Bay, although slightly on edge, are mostly confident that collaborative initiatives in place between businesses and residents will prevent any outbreaks of violence.

The Business Unit 41 initiative in Joe Slovo gives unemployed youths, who were identified as the main perpetrators in previous xenophobic attacks in the metro, incentives to protect spaza shops.

And in Uitenhage's Ward 45, a community policing forum gets together daily to patrol the streets and prevent attacks.

"In all spheres of our society people yearn for stability and peace. It cannot be right for, especially blacks, to vent their anger on people who seek refuge in the country," Faku said. "Something is fundamentally wrong.

"People find it easy to call others makwerekwere [a derogatory word for foreigner].

"But the same people would feel offended if they were to be called 'kaffirs'. They would drag you to the Human Rights Commission."



He also deplored the use of the word "foreigner", saying the connotation was that the person was not "one of us" and he felt uncomfortable with it.

Mayor Ben Fihla strongly condemned what was happening in the country as shameful and embarrassing. "We must be proactive to prevent what is happening in the other parts of the province," he said.

"This is one of the worst [signs] of moral decay. It's not something that augurs well for Africans - fighting against each other.

"Everyone who is present here today must go back and educate the community about the cancer of xenophobia," Fihla said.

As a way forward it was decided that the metro be on high alert for any eventuality, and that church leaders and the media promote a positive image of "our African brothers and sisters".

There will also be a silent march organised by Sasco from NMMU's south campus to its foreign office at noon on Thursday in protest against the attacks.

Sasco has collected 5000 signatures from NMMU staff and students and the politicians who met at the City Hall but intends to increase this to 10000 by Thursday to show solidarity with the victims of xenophobia.

In East London, The Herald's sister newspaper, the Daily Dispatch, and SABC radio station TruFM have partnered with Masimanyane Women's Support Centre to call East Londoners to an anti-xenophobia march on April 28.

Tensions flared up in Cala on Friday when a 28-year-old Zimbabwean national was arrested on suspicion of murder after a body, reportedly that of his girlfriend, was recovered in the town.

Sakhisizwe mayor Mlamli Jentile and his councillors, together with other leaders, have

been holding meetings to quell any further attacks in Cala.

"We are pleading for cool heads. We urge people to embrace our African brothers and sisters and promote the spirit of ubuntu," Jentile said. Shops operated by foreign nationals were closed since Friday but the mayor said the situation was calm and they could begin operating again. He said a meeting would be held in Cala tomorrow to discuss issues affecting foreigners.

Premier Phumulo Masualle's spokeswoman, Nomfanelo Kota, said yesterday: "We condemn the Cala incident and hope that police will bring the perpetrators to book."

She said the premier had reiterated calls for tolerance during a government outreach to Humansdorp communities on Friday.

ANC provincial spokesman Mlibo Qoboshiyane said on Saturday the party would conduct anti-xenophobia meetings with communities.

"We have received a directive from our national office indicating that leaders will campaign against xenophobia, Afrophobia or tribalism in all regions," Qoboshiyane said.

At the time, Qoboshiyane was at a prayer meeting and a march to promote positive attitudes towards foreigners held by the ANC Youth League's Ward 4 in Beacon Bay.

Masimanyane Women's Support Centre executive director Lesley Ann Foster said: "Ubuntu has no borders; the values of love and kindness are part of African culture. It's in our nature to welcome our visitors. The dignity of all human beings must be respected, irrespective of where they are from."

In churches yesterday, the congregants were encouraged to unite in prayer, according to the Eastern Cape Council of Churches' the Rev Mphumelelo Qwabaza.



"We are saddened by what has been happening in our country," Qwabaza said.

"Our people must return to God and repent," he said, adding the attacks could have negative implications for the country.

Methodist Church Bishop Mthobeli Matyumza said special prayers were also said in their churches.

Eastern Cape House of Traditional Leaders deputy chairman Zolile Burns-Ncamashe said they would encourage dialogue in all communities, particularly in isolated areas. "It is not enough to talk in the media. There must be direct engagements," he said.

**FORCED OUT:** Foreigners from Zimbabwe wait to leave on a bus home from a camp for those affected by anti-**immigrant** violence in

Chatsworth, north of Durban, at the weekend  
Picture: REUTERS

**A POINT TO MAKE:** Former mayor Nceba Faku speaks at yesterday's meeting in Port Elizabeth  
Picture: EUGENE **COETZEE**

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**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April 20, 2015 Monday**

**Killing people who helped set us  
free**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 375 **words**

I **FIND** it amazing how South Africans, particularly those who in the name of xenophobia loot foreigners' stores, continually shoot themselves in their feet, and are unable to understand the concept of consequences, or for that matter, forward **planning**.

Malawi has become the first African country to evacuate its citizens from South Africa; this is brilliant, considering that Malawi (at the time Nyasaland) hosted for a night Oliver Tambo, Yusuf Dadoo and Ronald Segal when they were leaving South Africa to go into exile.

Malawi, along with many other African nations protected, sheltered, educated, and nurtured many South Africans who fled South Africa's apartheid regime and its policies.

How do our xenophobic fools react to this?

They loot their businesses and home, ruin their lives, and even kill those very people who may themselves be related to people who gave exiled South Africans shelter.

The mind boggles.

These are people who for various reasons have come to South Africa in search of a better life and, in fact, offer services to many South Africans which they otherwise would not get.

During apartheid, many white South Africans would travel overseas and be treated like pariahs due to the apartheid government's laws; once we were free, those same South Africans would be treated with wonder due to the process of reconciliation which happened, which was the sole doing of Nelson Mandela.

Right now, those same South Africans will be called xenophobes and killers.

How history tends to be repeated is amazing.

Except, this time, the evil is not being perpetrated by an apartheid government, but by

the very people who were assisted in being set free by the people they are killing.

Madiba and all those no longer with us who fought for our freedom must be turning in their graves in shame.

Cry the beloved country!

Gordon Upton, Port Elizabeth

FORGETTING HISTORY: A reader reminds us how Yusuf Dadoo (pictured here with Nelson Mandela) was one of the struggle leaders who spent some of his time in Malawi, a country whose citizens are now being targeted by xenophobic attacks

DISPLACED: A Zimbabwean refugee hangs washing on the outside of a tented refugee camp set up in Chatsworth, south of Durban  
Picture: JACKIE CLAUSEN

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 **Monday**

E1 **Edition**

## **Foreigners remain hopeful**

**BYLINE:** Bongani Hans |and Sphelele  
**Ngubane**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 1

**LENGTH:** 667 **words**

As Zimbabweans got ready to leave Durban yesterday, some foreigners remained hopeful that King Goodwill Zwelithini's imbizo in Durban today would help stop the xenophobic attacks and restore peace in KwaZulu-Natal.

Thousands of people are expected to converge on Durban's Moses Mabhida Stadium this morning to listen to the king speak about the attacks on foreigners. Premier Senzo Mchunu, who will also attend the imbizo, announced the event on Friday.

The city released a press statement yesterday saying 10 000 people including the Amakhosi, Izinduna and Amabutho (regiments) were expected to attend the imbizo.

Yesterday buses transported hundreds of Zimbabweans from the Chatsworth transit camp where most had been living for two weeks.

The people The Mercury spoke to said they planned to return as soon as possible.

Speaking about the imbizo, Nigerian national Thomas Gaye, who lives in the Point area, said: "The king has to talk to his people because we do not want this fight. We want to live in peace."

In a speech in Pongola last month, the king called for foreigners to be repatriated. He was reported to have said there were too many foreigners and accused them of changing the culture of South African society and taking economic opportunities from South Africans.

The king has since accused the media of misquoting him.

During a press briefing in Durban yesterday, Police Minister Nathi Nhleko suggested that the king's message was lost in the translation from Zulu to English.

Nhleko and Transport, Community Safety and Liaison MEC Willies Mchunu were present in Pongola when the king spoke.

"He was referring to the deportation of illegals because the way he started off was a question of carelessness of our borders," said Nhleko.

He said it was illegal for any individual to call for the deportation of immigrants "because that is governed by law". However, when asked if the king would be held accountable for breaking the law, Nhleko said: "You want a headline. I am not going to say that."

When The Mercury visited the Point area at the weekend, foreign men were standing on street corners on the lookout for attackers.

City manager S'bu Sithole said they should not pay attention to propaganda circulated on social networks about the possible attacks.

Liberian Austin Teage said: "I think the ANC can solve the problems. They should hold more meetings to help us integrate."

There was a sombre mood at the Chatsworth transit camp yesterday.

"Everything I had worked hard for was taken from me. I am left with only the clothes I have just been given as a donation," said Memory Zhou, 40, who had been working as a maid in Pinetown for the past six years.

She said her family in Zimbabwe had asked her to come back because "they said they need my life."

"I understand they (South Africans) do not want us here, but they should have demonstrated and told us to leave, not take our stuff," she said.

Zhou said her employer told her she could have her job back when she returned.

Sylvia Mangezi, 22, mother of 2-year-old Prudence Masava, had been a maid since she arrived in 2013 and her partner Lovemore Masava, 25, had been working as a gardener.

She said their house was looted. They could only save their baby and a few clothes.

"I am coming back. My boss said she would give me my job back. I can't stay in Zimbabwe - there are no jobs there," she said.

Climate Mushanga, 48, who has been a pastor in Chatsworth, said he was leaving his family behind. His wife and two children, aged 3 and 1, bid farewell to their father, "who is not safe in South Africa".

Mushanga, who has been in the country for 18 years, has also worked as a mechanic.

"I am coming back to SA. My family is here and I have children to look after," he said.

Clement Mapundu, 23, is a long-distance truck driver.

"My parents advised me to come home. I told them that I will have to come back because I have a job here," he said.

Last week, buses, organised by the Department of Home Affairs transported foreigners to Malawi and Mozambique.

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**SECTION:** Pg. 7

**LENGTH:** 328 words

The latest wave of xenophobic attacks to hit Durban and other parts of the country has created concern and mass hysteria among peace loving South Africans.

It goes without saying that whenever there is a breakdown in law, no matter the scale, the safety and security of an entire nation becomes of concern, threatening the very fundamentals of our fledgling democracy.

This is the same democracy that made provision for our borders to be opened when the ANC came into power in 1994, which consequently caused an influx of immigrants, many of whom were illegal, into the country, despite the fears and vehement protests made by some of the minorities at the time.

Then, not too long ago, the ANC's position was again made known to South Africans that it supported the AU's decision of integrated continental economy - including a plan to dismantle borders of countries surrounding South Africa.

The reason why the ruling party favoured opening the borders was because Africans were tired of applying for visas, and there was a need to enable our people to move freely in these countries, and goods to be moved freely.

That was the future we were looking at, it was said.

While most South Africans have learnt to accept and share these open-door policies with the government, considering that many foreigners have entrenched themselves in our society and in business, and made this their home, some are not in favour and are hitting back. The perpetrators want to rescind the invitation given to our foreign guests for overstaying their welcome.

These xenophobic attacks go against what government says it stands for.

The people on the ground, it seems, are either not in the loop with our need to co-exist and share with our neighbours, which incidentally was the vision of our beloved Madiba, or are being driven by the criminal element within, and which if left unchecked can destabilise the country and bring more embarrassment upon us in the global arena.

Abdulla Amla

**Durban**

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**Scary turn of events****SECTION:** Pg. 7**LENGTH:** 272 words

The xenophobic attacks on African immigrants are disheartening coming two decades after the birth of a new South Africa.

The attacks have left five people dead and property destroyed or looted by locals.

There have been frequent eruptions of xenophobic violence over the past decade.

The most notable one was in 2008, when 62 people were killed and more than 150 000 displaced.

Yes, it is true that South Africans are facing serious challenges, among them, high rates of unemployment, crime and diseases.

Some feel frustrated that the sacrifices they made in fighting apartheid and ending white minority rule have not paid enough.

They accuse foreigners of reaping where they did not sow by taking up their jobs and engaging in crime.

According to reports, the latest violence erupted after King Goodwill Zwelithini stated that all foreigners should leave South Africa.

However, the king has denied the accusations, saying he was quoted out of context.

Many African countries stood by the South Africans in their struggle against apartheid.

This is the reason it is frightening to see South Africans turning against their fellow Africans just because they are not natives of South Africa.

This is not the Rainbow Nation that Mandela and his colleagues envisioned.

It is incumbent upon the South African government to stop xenophobic attacks once and for all.

King Zwelithini should also be investigated to ascertain whether he is the cause of the latest wave of violence and be sanctioned if found guilty.

The recent rally against xenophobia showed the world that the majority of South Africans were against xenophobia and supported a united Africa.

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 20, 2015 Monday**

**E1 Edition**

**SECTION:** Pg. **7**

**LENGTH:** 245 **words**

It is not your fault that you have always hated the other (Zulu, Venda, Tsonga, Albino, gay, or poor), blame it on the Mozambican neighbour for your **hatred**.

It is not your fault that you don't want to take menial jobs even though you have no education or experience, blame it on the Zimbabwean maths teacher working as a waiter.

It is not your fault that you did not innovate when shopping centres killed your corner café, blame it on the Somali who took your derelict shop and made it successful.

It is not your fault that you impregnated your woman, twice, and left her stranded, blame the Congolese who married her and gave her love, shelter and comfort.

It is not your fault that the police have ignored petty crimes for so many years, blame it on the Nigerians now that crime has spiralled out of control.

It is not your fault that your public servant brother took bribes and gave out fake IDs,

blame it on the Pakistani for qualifying for an RDP house.

It is not your fault that politicians ignored all conventions of border and custom control, blame it on the **asylum seeker** that South Africa is a free-for-all country.

It is sure not your fault that when reality hit us in the face, you built a higher wall, bought extra security and pretended everything would disappear, blame it on foreigners for "destroying" your country.

And trust me, it is not your fault that you will find this letter offensive, stupid and reactionary, blame it on intolerance.

Rams Mabote

**Johannesburg**

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The New Age (South **Africa**)

**April 20, 2015 Monday**

## **Foreign nationals at refugee camps**

**BYLINE: ZODIDI MHLANA**

**LENGTH: 320 words**

**FOREIGN** nationals continued streaming into camps set up for them in Gauteng since the outbreak of **xenophobic attacks** began three weeks ago.

Among the affected is **26-year-old Lindiwe Ndlovu** from **Harare**.

The mother of three, who is eight months pregnant, has been in **South Africa** for a year leaving behind three of her children because of a lack of jobs in her home country.

Ndlovu spent her first night after the attacks in a transit **refugee** camp at Christ Church Mayfair on Saturday night after being forced to leave her shack in Alexandra fearing for her life.

"Before coming to this camp, I had been sleeping at Bramley police station with others. My husband suggested that I come here until the situation gets better.

"There was no way that I was going to be able to run in my condition," Ndlovu said. She said her husband who does gardening work supported the family.

Ndlovu said she was forced to leave her home after a group of locals demanded identity documents and threatened to burn their shacks.

"It all started on Wednesday night when they came knocking on our doors asking us to produce IDs to prove we were from here. They threatened to burn our shacks and were demanding other things," Ndlovu said.

About 2000 foreign nationals, mainly from **Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi**, have sought shelter at the camp outside the Primrose police station near Germiston on the East Rand.

**Aida Ndlovu**, also from **Zimbabwe**, said that before the attacks, she lived at the Makause informal settlement which is home to more than 10000 people.



She has been in the Germiston camp for more than five days with her two-month-old daughter.

"We are here because we are scared, we will be here until things get better," she said.

The spate of attacks on foreign nationals which began three weeks ago in Isipingo have claimed seven people and displaced almost 40000 lives in KwaZulu-Natal and

Gauteng.

zodidim@thenewage.co.za

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

**Buses carry foreigners home**

into nine buses parked on a soccer field in Chatsworth, Durban. Their next stop: home.

**BYLINE:** Matthew Savides

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 491 words

Hundreds opt to leave their livelihoods for safety's sake

ALMOST 600 Zimbabweans packed up what remained of their lives and climbed sardine-like

Since Friday, the South African and other African governments have hired massive buses to repatriate hundreds of foreigners who have been displaced in violent xenophobic clashes that erupted in south Durban on March 31 and have since spread across the city.

Seven people - four of them foreigners - are confirmed killed. Scores have been injured. Thousands have been forced to flee their homes and livelihoods.

More than 3500 foreigners have been living in three tented transit camps, where they have been provided with the bare minimum - cover

over their heads, donated food and clothing and a place to sleep. Most importantly, they have been safe within the boundaries of the camps.

But now, many will be going home. Ronald Dandavare paces up and down at the back of an ever-growing crowd on the field, looking longingly at the line of buses.

"I will be safe if I go home," said Dandavare, who says that he would have preferred to stay if his safety could be guaranteed.

He said that comments made by President Jacob Zuma at the camp on Saturday that foreigners would be safe came as little comfort.

"People won't listen. I am willing for things to go back to normal, but I can't. We will be killed one by one," he said.

As he speaks, one of the buses pulls off. Out of the windows the passengers smile broadly, sing and wave.

"You can see that our people are happy to go home. They know they will be safe at home," said Dandavare, in between shouts of "goodbye" and "good luck" in his native Shona language.

In total, nine buses left for Zimbabwe yesterday. Each bus was pulling a large trailer and had 65 passengers on board.

The passengers would be taken to the border where they would be met by buses organised by the Zimbabwean government.

The buses would then come back and be placed on standby in case more people wanted to go back.

On Saturday, at least two buses left Durban for Malawi, taking more than 120 home.

Henry Nwambimba and Gift Chilumbu, both from Lilongwe in Malawi, boarded the last bus to Blantyre on Saturday from Isiphingo. They vowed to never return to South Africa.

Speaking through the window of the bus, Chilumbu said he was leaving behind his two-year-old daughter and her South African mother.

"I don't know what is going to happen to them. I'm not coming back," he shouted, trying to be heard over the noise of the crowd and the revving buses.

**DESPERATE:** Zimbabwean men at a camp for those affected by anti-immigrant violence in Chatsworth, north of Durban, queue to register to return home **PHOTOS: ROGAN WARD**

**HOMEWARD BOUND:** Foreigners from Malawi leave on a bus home from one of the relief camps

**NOT CONVINCED:** A foreign man holds a sign before President Jacob Zuma's address

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# Sowetan

THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

## SA woman threatened for dating Zimbabwean man

**BYLINE:** Ntwaagae Seleka

**SECTION:** SOCIAL ISSUES

**LENGTH:** 570 words

**BOTH FLEE TO REFUGEE CAMP**

A SOUTH African woman has taken refuge among more than 700 displaced foreign nationals at a refugee camp, after she was attacked and threatened with rape for dating a Zimbabwean man.

Nokuthula Mabaso said she was attacked while visiting her boyfriend Elias Chauke in Makause informal settlement in Germiston, East Rand, on Wednesday night.

Mabaso, who hails from Harrismith in Free State, lives in the squatter camp with her parents.

She and her friend visited Chauke after news broke out that foreigners were being driven out of the area.

"I went to his shack and could not find him. A group of Zulu-speaking men arrived and kicked

down the door. They asked me where my boyfriend and other foreigners were and I told them I did not know.

"They asked me why I dated a foreigner when there were many South African men in the squatter camp and I replied that I love Elias. They then assaulted and robbed me of my cellphone, forcing me to reveal where foreigners had fled to.

"They kept on asking us what do we want from foreigners. One of them threatened to rape us and was stopped by others. I looked for my boyfriend all over until I found him here on Friday night," said Mabaso.

She is among scores of displaced foreigners staying in 38 temporary tents near Primrose police station after they were forcefully evacuated from their shacks during last week's xenophobic attacks.

Yesterday, scores of people in the camps were seen queueing for food, others at a mobile clinic for medication, some basking in the sun, men and women doing their washing, feeding young ones, and children running around in the camp.

The group slept on the pavement outside the police station until the Ekurhuleni municipality provided them with tents, water, electricity, security, sanitation, food and a mobile clinic.

Women and children occupied their own tents while men slept in theirs alone.

They told Sowetan that their shacks were ransacked and robbed by angry mobs.

Some pleaded with the government to provide them with transport back home.

Zimbabwean national Happy Molosta has been in South Africa for seven years and said he did not want to die in a foreign country and wanted to go back home.

"I do not have money for transport. I do not want to die here. I am not safe in this country. I am afraid to go to work because I could be attacked," he said.

Rose Manuel from Mozambique said she did not want to go back home and pleaded for peace.

Manuel, a hawker, wants to continue selling her wares to feed her family back home.

Another Mozambican national, Francisco Mashaba, is also prepared to continue staying in the area.

Mashaba said he and his wife sneaked back to Makause informal settlement daily to check their shack has not been demolished.

He claimed that the mob stole his clothes and a few items from his shack when they were attacked on Wednesday night.

Ekurhuleni mayoral spokesman Zweli Dlamini said the displaced foreign nationals would be

kept there until calm has been restored in the area.

"We wish to reintegrate them back to their communities. We cannot determine how long we will keep them. We do hope by the end of next week they can go back to their communities."

ontwagaes@sowetan.co.za

WAIT AND SEE: Zimbabwean Elias Chauke and his lover Nokuthula Mabaso at a refugee camp in Primrose, East Rand. Chauke fled to the camp after last week's attacks in Makause  
PHOTO: ANTONIO MUCHAVE

**LOAD-DATE:** April 20, 2015

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The Star (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

## **Violence** in SA 'akin to that in war-torn **countries**'

**BYLINE:** NTANDO **MAKHUBU**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 4

**LENGTH:** 523 **words**

**THE violence** in South Africa is similar to that in [war-torn countries like Syria and South Sudan, **foreign nationals** in Pretoria have said.

They say they live so fearful of being attacked that waking up each day had become both a curse and a **blessing**.

The **foreign nationals**, most of whom **are refugees** who run shops and supermarkets in the townships, said they **feared being attacked** by the very people they lived with and served.

"The violence as we see it is totally out of **control**, but what is worse is the lack of leadership to stop it," said **Esaie Prince of the Congolese community** yesterday.

He said **the refugees** **were powerless** in the **face of impending violence**. "Our embassy has said nothing to us, they do not care and neither do those in the country's positions of power," he said.

Prince spoke in **the wake of the brutal killing, in full view of crowds**, of Mozambican Emmanuel Sithole, who was stabbed in the streets of Alexandra on Saturday.

He later died from his wounds, causing an outcry, but that is where it would end, said Ibrahim Shurte, from Somalia.

"While ministers and politicians talk to the media and lay out plans and strategies, the lootings and killings continue unabated," he said.

The situations from which they had fled when they came to South Africa were playing out before their very eyes.

"We thought we were escaping murder and mayhem but we find ourselves in the middle of that now," he said.

There was no guarantee of safety back home and there was none here, Shurte added.

"Tensions are high in the townships. They are ready to pack up and go home rather than live under the shadow of death."

**The refugees** **hardly slept for fear of being attacked in the night, and could not operate during the day or walk freely for fear of being targeted.**

"Not knowing if we will live one day to the next is painful," said Shurte.

But no amount of inequality or disgruntlement justified the brutality meted out to fellow sons of the soil, the country's Young African Royals said at a media briefing yesterday as they took a firm stand against the attacks and killing of foreign nationals. The Young African Royals are a group of young people from the country's royal households.

They sent out a strong message, in which **they called for the return to a peaceful, violence-free South Africa.**

They called on South Africans to join forces to bring peace back to the country, and said discrimination of all kinds - be it xenophobic attacks and the killing of people, or oppression including tribalism and racism - was a violation of basic human rights.

"**The violence, killings and** abuse undermine **human dignity, life and humanity.**" said Princess Stella Sigcau of the Mpondo Kingdom.

Prince Unathi Mtirara, of the Thembu Royal House, said there was no need for violence in searching for solutions.

"There are growing inequalities in communities, but no amount of discontent justifies what we're witnessing," he said.

The young royals said they would join the South African Royal Campaign against xenophobia, in which royal houses in the country would take part. They would engage the government and ministers to contribute to efforts to find peace.

**LOAD-DATE:** April 21, 2015

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The Star (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5

**LENGTH:** 371 words

THE area around Jeppestown men's hostel is a grimy industrial area. On the one side is the hipster Maboneng precinct, promising rejuvenation; on the other, the Jeppe railway station. In between are little shops owned by foreign shopkeepers.

Wolhuter Street is a flashpoint for violence and a byword for paradox: as one set of migrants, the Zulu hostel dwellers, take on the Mafikizolo, "the people who came yesterday", the migrants from over the borders.

There's a strange energy when the mob takes control of the streets; an ebb and a flow. The mob grows, shaping into impis, goaded by incessant whistling, singing, toyi-toying and mock charging of the police barricades. Then it subsides, until the next time. Sometimes you can't even put your finger on what sets it off, because it's over before you realise it's happening, like the two nurses who avoided the axeman.

On Friday afternoon, the area was cordoned off but motorists still tried to cut through to avoid the traffic, as did this Volvo driver.

Halfway down the road, his car was thronged. In seconds, the mini mob had the doors open, making off with anything they could lay their hands on.

Shaken, the driver started driving towards the impassive policemen at the end of the road. En route he stalled. As he did, a young hostel dweller emerged from nowhere, a massive piece of masonry in his hands, which he launched through the back window.

The driver needed no further urging. He got out of his car and fled to the blue line.

Later, the police moved the carcass of a car torched in the middle of the road the night before. During the lull, a young woman sat against a wall bearing a mural of a rural scene so common to the hostel dwellers.

It wasn't to last.

As night set in, officers began stopping and searching suspects, making them lie on the ground. Afterwards, the mob retaliated, moving the carcass of the car back to where it had been and setting it alight again.

The next day, the story would move to Alex, that scary sprawling mass east of Sandton, with its tiny alleys without signposts and local residents deeply suspicious of anyone who doesn't live there.

It's a place where violence always lurks under the surface. Tragically, we wouldn't have to long too wait.

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The Star (South Africa)

April 20, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**Hope that king will bring sanity**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 4

**BYLINE:** Bongani Hans

**LENGTH:** 493 words



**FOREIGNERS** were hopeful that King Goodwill Zwelithini's imbizo in Durban today would bring sanity to South Africans perpetrating xenophobic attacks and help restore peace.

Thousands of people were expected to converge at Moses Mabhida Stadium this morning to listen to the king speak about the recent **attacks**.

KwaZulu-Natal Premier Senzo Mchunu, who was to attend the imbizo, announced the event at a media briefing on Friday.

The city said yesterday that 10 000 people, including traditional chiefs, indunas and regiments, were expected to descend on the stadium.

"The king has to talk to his people because we do not want this fight. We want to live in peace," said **Nigerian Thomas Gaye**, who lives in the Point area in Durban.

The king delivered a speech in Pongola, in northern KZN, last month during which he called on foreigners to be repatriated to their home countries.

He was reported to have said there **were too many foreigners** in South Africa and accused them of changing the culture of South African society and taking economic opportunities from locals.

The king has since accused the media of misquoting him, saying he had only asked locals to plough fields and produce food. He said his comments about foreigners were only referring to criminal elements.

At a media briefing in Durban yesterday, **Police Minister Nathi Nhleko** suggested that the king's message had been lost in the translation from Zulu to English.

Nhleko and Transport, Community Safety and Liaison MEC Willie Mchunu were present in Pongola when Zwelithini gave the address.

"He was referring to the **deportation of illegals** because the way he started off was a question of **carelessness of our borders**," said Nhleko.

The minister said it was **illegal** for any individual to call for the deportation of **immigrants** "because that is governed by law".

Asked if the king would be held accountable, Nhleko said: "You want a headline. I am not going to say that."

Mchunu's office said that during today's imbizo, "his majesty will add his voice behind all peace initiatives in the province".

When The Star's sister newspaper, The Mercury, visited the Point area at the weekend, **foreign men** said they were still on the lookout for attackers. This was amid messages circulating through social media that hostel dwellers around Durban would storm the area to chase foreigners away. Most of the **foreign-owned shops and hair salons** remained closed.

"Right now we do not have money to go back home. At least the government must give us one or two months to prepare ourselves to leave," said Ike Johnson from Liberia.

eThekweni Municipality reported that by yesterday morning, about 300 people had arrived at the shelter set up at Isipingo asking to be transported back to their countries.

City officials told **the foreigners** in Mahatma Gandhi Road (Point) about today's event.

"The king is coming to the city to say to the locals that **this violence** must stop," said mayor James Nxumalo to the applause of the **crowd**.

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# The Times

The Times (South **Africa**)**April 20, 2015 Monday**

## **Foreigners** turn their backs on government

BYLINE: Matthew Savides; Sipho **Masombuka**SECTION: **POLITICS**LENGTH: 734 **words**

At least **1000 foreigners** have left the country so far

Minister defends Zulu king

THE message to the government from **hundreds of foreigners** getting onto buses out of South Africa is clear: we don't believe you.

They are leaving **despite the government's** assurance that they will be safe if they **stay**.

Almost **600 Zimbabweans** yesterday packed up what remained of their lives here and crammed

into nine buses parked on a soccer field in Chatsworth, Durban. **Their next stop: home.**

**Ronald Dandavare** desperately wanted to get on one of those buses.

"He [President Jacob Zuma] says we will be safe, but it's not safe for us. People won't listen. I am willing for things to go back to normal, but I can't [risk it]. We will be killed one by one," he said.

Since Friday, the South African and other governments in Africa have hired buses to repatriate hundreds of people displaced in three weeks of xenophobic violence in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.

At least **1000 foreigners** have left the country so far, most of them heading to **Malawi, Zimbabwe or Mozambique.**

There are still 2000 people **living in a transit camp in Phoenix, north of Durban. They would be moved in the course of the week**, said an official, who would not be named.

**Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba**, who heads the cluster of ministers Zuma appointed to quell the violence, yesterday reassured the

continent that everything was being done to restore order.

But Marc Gbaffou, chairman of the African Diaspora Forum, is not convinced.

"The government made a good call [for the violence to stop], but there is a need to make sure that call is felt.

"Why did the government not publicly reprimand the Zulu king for saying foreigners must pack and go? The world is watching how South Africa, Africa's super power, responds to this," he said.

Police Minister Nathi Nhleko defended King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday, saying that the king had not called for foreigners to leave the country but had rather referred to illegal foreigners who should be deported.

At the launch of the police's We Are One Humanity campaign in Durban, Nhleko said he had been present at a moral regeneration event in Pongola, northern KwaZulu-Natal, at which the king had spoken.

A translation of a recorded version of Zwelithini's speech, which has been published online, quotes him as saying: "We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their countries."

Nhleko said this was an incorrect translation of the Zulu, which does not have a specific word for "deport".

"These are two different languages ... [and] to try and corroborate them is a problem. [Zwelithini] was referring to the deporting of illegal foreigners," said Nhleko.

The king had spoken in the context of foreigners crossing into the country illegally through porous borders, a valid complaint that was being addressed by the government, Nhleko said.

"If you are here illegally, you shouldn't be here. The government follows the law. These were the issues that the king was addressing in his speech," Nhleko said.

Zwelithini will today address the controversy publicly at a royal imbizo in Durban.

The police ministry hopes to combat Afrophobia through the We Are One Humanity campaign, which will feature roadshows across the country. A thumbs-up sticker will show "a commitment to a xenophobic-free lifestyle".

Nhleko said: "Now that the situation is stabilising, the government is turning its attention to a long-term, sustainable intervention that will address the underlying mindsets that motivate these attacks in the first place. Xenophobic tendencies represent all that is backwards in society."

Gigaba, at a briefing in Pretoria, said 307 suspects had been arrested in connection with the recent violence.

Police are offering a R100000 reward for information that might lead to the arrest of the killers of Mozambican Emmanuel Sithole in Alexandra, Johannesburg. The Sunday Times yesterday ran pictures of a man stabbing a helpless Sithole, who later died from the wounds.

HEAVEN HELP US: Members of Johannesburg churches march from Bethesda Methodist Church in Berea to Yeoville yesterday to protest against xenophobia and show solidarity with victims. Foreigners lined the streets to watch and support the march Picture: ALON SKUY

OUT OF HERE: Foreigners at a transit camp in Chatsworth, Durban, say goodbye to compatriots being taken back home

Picture: TEBOGO LETSIE

**LOAD-DATE:** April 20, **2015****PUBLICATION-TYPE:** **Newspaper****LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH****JOURNAL-CODE:** The Times,TT,**TheTimes**

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All Rights **Reserved**Sunday Times (South **Africa**)**April** 19, 2015 **Sunday**MainBody **Edition****United in flight and trapped by the  
terror****BYLINE:** MATTHEW **SAVIDES****SECTION:** UNREST, CONFLICTS & **WAR****LENGTH:** 762 **words****Foreigners** seeking refuge in makeshift camps  
tell of escapesThey told me they don't want amakwerewere  
here. I ran away. But I fell.ON Thursday night, **Malawian Sam Justin**,  
wearing a red T-shirt with the bold legend  
"NEVER GIVE UP", huddled around a fire with  
his new-found friends and recounted the attack  
by eight knife-wielding men in Unit 11,  
Chatsworth."They told me they don't want amakwerewere  
[foreigners] here. I ran away, but I fell. One tried  
to stab me," he said. Those around him  
muttered under their breaths.**Justin, 27**, raised his left arm to reveal an open  
wound below his elbow. "I don't know how I  
escaped. It must have been God's work," he  
said.Since the attack he has been living in the  
temporary camp in Chatsworth and **getting  
treatment from a mobile clinic**. Most of those  
around the fire did not know each other before  
the **horrific xenophobic attacks** that have  
engulfed parts of Durban for the past three  
weeks, leaving at least six dead and dozens  
injured.They have been brought together by a common  
plight - fleeing marauding gangs that attacked  
them, and burnt properties and ransacked  
shops belonging to **foreigners**.Nearby, on an open patch of grass close to  
tents, children played soccer. Their loud  
laughter pierced the night air - an incongruously  
happy sound, given what they and their families  
have endured: **forced to abandon their homes**

for cramped tents on a sports field south of Durban.

For two weeks, thousands of foreigners - it could be as many as 2500 in this camp alone - have been living in three such camps in Durban.

The children's resilience was mirrored by the adults in the camp who, while fearful that violence would continue, knew they had to make the best of a bad situation.

As darkness fell, the number of the camp's inhabitants grew with more displaced people returning from work or arriving to seek shelter. But with safety came discomfort.

Ablution and washing facilities are limited. Not everyone could find space in the tents. Privacy is restricted.

The Human Rights Commission this week said that, "under the circumstances", the camps' conditions met human rights standards - but only just.

Community organisations provided breakfast and supper. This night it was pap and vegetable stew served on paper plates. The queue was long and it took more than an hour to hand out servings. There were no complaints, just gratitude.

Jeanette Dingane, driven from her home in Lusaka township, Chatsworth, said she left only with what she wore.

Others had the same experience. They do not have blankets. Fewer have the wafer-thin mattresses that have been donated. Clothing has also been donated - but not enough to meet demand. Like many others, Dingane has had to cook meals on open fires.

"We are scared that this [violence] will happen again," the Mozambican said. "But at least there is security and police here. If things calm down, I will stay here in South Africa. If it doesn't, I want to go home."

But for many others, going home is not an option.

Kasai Ruvenga fled the war-torn Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2001. He has since built a life here with his wife, Coco Bishogo. They have two children. They ran a hair salon.

They were among the first victims when violence erupted in Isipingo on March 31. Their salon was looted and they fled to the local police station, where they stayed for three days. They were then relocated to another camp, also in Isipingo, where about 350 people shared three large tents.

"We are all talking about how long we are going to be here for. It's been too long already," Ruvenga said.

"We are trapped here. We can't go back [into the community] because it is unsafe and there is war at home."

It was almost 9pm. The children, Ruvenga said, should have been in bed. It was a school night. But they were not going to school because it was unsafe. Instead, his daughters spent the days playing with friends.

"The children don't know what's going on. They are just running and playing.

"But as a mature adult, you know that it's scary and that their future is not great," Ruvenga said.

HOT MEALS: Children tuck into food donated by the community Picture: REUTERS

MAKING DO: A woman cooks a meal while others queue for food Picture: REUTERS

EVEN BABES IN ARMS: A young man feeds his baby at the Isipingo camp for displaced foreigners. As many as 2500 victims of xenophobic violence have sought refuge in such camps in Durban Picture: REUTERS

SURVIVOR: Malawian Sam Justin at the Chatsworth transit camp

Picture: TEBOGO **LETSIE**

**LANGUAGE: ENGLISH**

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Sunday Times (South **Africa**)

**April** 19, 2015 **Sunday**

MainBody **Edition**

**Comment.** **Toxic brew** may ignite at any **moment**

**BYLINE:** S'THEMBISO **MSOMI**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 940 **words**

**XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE.** Comment

**Toxic brew** may ignite at any moment

Had the authorities acted quickly, perhaps the attacks would not have spread to other parts of the city

S'THEMBISO MSOMI

THEY say **the police** drove slowly behind the marauding mob - keeping a polite distance - as if fearful of offending it with their presence.

Exactly 21 years ago, those very streets were a bloody battlefield as residents of the men's hostel clashed with township dwellers in the violence that marked our nation's march to its first democratic elections.

But last Sunday, hostel dwellers and township residents moved together in new-found comradeship as they ran riot, looting and torching tuck shops belonging to foreigners.

At one household in KwaMashu's B-section, they surrounded a red shipping container used as both a tuck shop and home by a Somali, "Rashida".

Rashida's landlord rushed out of his own house and begged for mercy.

Why were they taking the bread out of his mouth, he asked. The tuck shop, he pointed out, provided him and his family a guaranteed income of at least R3000.

But the agitated mob would have none of it. If he insisted on protecting the foreigner, he was told, his house, too, would be burnt down.

He stood helplessly as the looters, some of whom were occasional customers at the shop, ransacked the place.

Police say six people have been killed and scores injured or forced to flee their homes as Durban exploded in a dark wave of **xenophobic attacks** - targeting mainly **Somali and other African immigrants**.

That King Goodwill Zwelithini's irresponsible call on foreigners to leave South Africa is to blame for much of the violence is without doubt.

However, the ominous signs of trouble were there long before his notorious speech in Pongola on March 21.

In January, as Soweto and other parts of Gauteng went up in flames, Durbanites were warning that it was a matter of time **before xenophobia reached the Banana City**.

In KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and other townships north of Durban, unsigned pamphlets calling on foreigners to leave were distributed.

Behind the pamphlet campaign, it is believed, were local traders and shop owners who had not rented out their stores to foreigners.

There was the now-familiar claim that the foreigners were forcing local operators out of business through underhanded means.

This being Durban and KwaZulu-Natal, the accusations quickly became racial as well as religious.

**Somalis are mostly Muslim and go by Arab names**. Many of the small businesses operating in Durban's townships and informal settlements buy their supplies from Indian wholesalers in Phoenix, Isipingo and other predominantly Indian industrial zones.

This provided fertile ground for a popular rumour that the Somalis and Pakistanis get "huge discounts" from "their fellow Muslims".

No evidence has been provided to support this claim.

Add to the mix rumours of striking local workers at an Isipingo wholesaler being replaced by mainly foreign scab labour, and you have a toxic situation.

Workers at Jeena's Warehouse last year abandoned their Cosatu-aligned union and joined a more militant new outfit, the Professional Transport and Allied Workers Union.

The new union declared a dispute with the employer after a disagreement over wages. It then embarked on strike action and the employer retaliated by locking them out.

Tension ran high with the strikers angry that some had crossed the picket line.

Union leader Cyril Machesa this week insisted that among those hired to replace the strikers were foreigners.

"Yes, they did **employ foreigners**. We were asking how do they do that, how do they bring in **undocumented foreigners** instead of dealing with what caused the strike," Machesa said.

Jeena's Warehouse vehemently denied that it replaced the protesters with foreigners.

But the company's denials did not stop rumours of foreigners taking the jobs of locals.

A March 30 "**service delivery protest**" organised by the **South African National Civic Organisation** in nearby Umlazi's V Section soon turned into a support rally for the striking workers.

All hell broke loose, but even then the attacks were mostly limited to the south of Durban.

Had the **authorities** acted quickly, perhaps the attacks would not have spread to other parts of the city.

However, the police proved unable to douse the fire and politicians were reluctant to speak out against the king.

Our country may be a republic, but traditional leaders still hold a lot of sway, especially in KwaZulu-Natal.

As a result, instead of publicly condemning his inflammatory statements and calling on the king to withdraw his comments, **Police Minister Nathi Nhleko** fell over himself trying to spin the monarch out of trouble.

The one minister who did speak out, even though he did so mildly and in general terms, **Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba**, found himself in trouble with King Goodwill.

The monarch did not take kindly to politicians with "five-year political power" thinking they had the authority to challenge him.

**Even President Jacob Zuma** seemed reticent at first, although he finally made a firm public statement in parliament on Thursday, calling for an end to the violence.

He said nothing about the king's remarks.

The king has since called an imbizo, where he will, hopefully, apologise for his statements and call for peace.

The latest wave of attacks will stop and, as happened after the 2008 **attacks**, we will move on.

But unless the underlying causes - which include high unemployment, a lack of access to economic opportunities in townships, anti-foreigner sentiment and general lawlessness - are addressed, we will find ourselves embroiled in yet **another wave of xenophobic attacks** down the **line**.

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Sunday Times (South **Africa**)

**April** 19, 2015 **Sunday**

MainBody **Edition**

**More than 350 foreigners killed 13 but only one murder conviction**

**BYLINE:** MONICA **LAGANPARSAD**

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE**



**LENGTH: 740 words**

**XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE**. More than 350 foreigners killed - but only one murder conviction

EBRAHIM Mohamed Ali knows why his brother Abubakar was killed - it was because he was a Somali.

What he does not understand is why the police have made no arrests since the murder in 2008.

Abubakar Ali, 40, is among an estimated 357 foreigners killed during **xenophobic violence** over the past seven years.

Disturbingly, activists and monitoring groups this week could cite just one case of a successful prosecution for the murder of a foreigner.

Abubakar was killed in June 2008 in Fordsburg, three weeks after anti-foreigner violence broke out in Alexandra.

"I'm scared," Ebrahim said. "I don't want them to kill me too."

He said he had not been able to follow up on his brother's murder because he is illiterate.

Amir Sheikh, chairman of the Somali Community Board, said at least 100 Somalis had been killed since 2008, and only a few of those cases had gone to court.

"Abubakar was killed in his garage. Nothing was taken. Not the fancy cars in the workshop or even the money in his pockets. The police came to take his body away. We haven't seen them since," said Sheikh.

Jean Pierre Misago, a researcher at the African Centre for Migration and Society based at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been tracking xenophobic attacks since 2008.

In a report he is due to publish later this year, Misago says:

In 2008, at least 62 people were killed, 670 wounded, dozens raped and more than 100,000 displaced;

oSince mid-2008, almost every month there has been at least one attack on groups of foreigners;

oBetween mid-2009 and late 2010, at least 20 foreigners were killed and more than 40 seriously injured, while at least 200 foreign-run shops were looted and more than 4,000 people were displaced;

oIn 2011, at least 120 foreigners were killed (five of them burnt alive), 100 were seriously injured and at least 1,000 displaced; and

oIn 2012, there were 140 deaths and 250 serious injuries.

According to the Southern Africa office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), up to March 2014, an estimated 300 incidents of violence against asylum-seekers and refugees had been reported.

"The violence never stopped since 2008," said Misago. "What we've seen is that some people are arrested but very few cases go to court, either because it was withdrawn or the witnesses could not be traced or were too scared to testify."

Misago said he knew of only one murder case that had been successfully prosecuted: the killing of Said Khalif, 17, and Badal Sheikh Mohamed, 26, who were burnt to death in their shop in East London in January 2008.

The suspect, identified as Ntamehlo, 29, was arrested and charged with murder and armed robbery. In November 2008, Ntamehlo was sentenced to 15 years in jail.

Misago said that in 2008, 527 people were arrested for crimes related to xenophobia,



mainly public violence, assault and housebreaking.

More than 200 of the cases were withdrawn and only 70 resulted in guilty verdicts.

Misago said the **National Prosecuting Authority (NPA)** cited challenges that included witnesses who could not be traced and difficulties in finding interpreters.

He said the failure to bring prosecutions for murder sent a message that the culprits had nothing to fear.

"This leads to a culture of impunity and it's dangerous because they [killers] are getting away with it," Misago said.

"We haven't learnt anything since 2008. **The South African government** has lost **its power to enforce law and order in the country. They have lost control** and people are taking advantage."

The NPA, asked about its apparent failure to bring murder prosecutions in the killings of foreigners, said it could not comment if it did not have the relevant case numbers.

**NPA spokesman Velekhaya Mgobhozi** said that at a meeting last week, it was decided to appoint

dedicated prosecutors in courts where crimes related to xenophobia came up for trial.

But a **spokeswoman for the UNHCR, Tina Ghelli**, said: "People want to see accountability. There needs to be a message that this can't be done without any impunity."

For **immigrants like Ebrahim**, who came to South Africa after fleeing conflict and violence in his native country, there may be no choice but to return home.

"I brought my wife and children. We came for a better life. But every day they tell us to go back home," Ebrahim said.

"If this doesn't stop, we might have to go back. We can't fight the whole country," he **said**.

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**Sunday Times (South Africa)**

**April 19, 2015 Sunday**

**MainBody Edition**

**From the DRC's hell to  
victimisation in SA**

**BYLINE:** MATTHEW **SAVIDES**

**SECTION: UNREST, CONFLICTS & WAR****LENGTH: 411 words**

**XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE.** From the DRC's hell to victimisation in SA

People told me that maybe I could find peace in South Africa

"I WAS not safe in the DRC. I was not safe in Joburg, now I am not safe in Durban. I don't know what to do. I can only pray," said Alex Musambia.

He said he was just 18 when rebels attacked his village in the rural east of the Democratic Republic of Congo. He was at school when gunmen ran into the building. He watched as two of his friends were shot and killed, but was able to escape before the men turned their attention to him.

"I ran away, to my home in the village. But the rebels were already there. I got into the house and saw five of them raping my mother. I tried to stop them, but they hit me with the back of an AK47 and knocked me out," said Musambia, now 27.

Four days after the attack, his mother died from her injuries and Musambia was left to fend for himself.

"I was lucky because, when she died, she left some money for me. People told me that I should go to South Africa, because maybe I could find peace in that country," he said.

Musambia paid someone to drive him from the DRC through Zambia and Zimbabwe and into South Africa, where he was granted refugee status, he said.

That was in 2006. He settled in Johannesburg, where there was a growing Congolese community, and did piecemeal jobs, including working as a car guard and security guard, and then opened a salon. But tragedy was not far away.

In 2008, he fell victim to the xenophobic violence that broke out across Johannesburg and eventually claimed 62 lives.

"I was beaten up in Joburg. My salon was set on fire."

He thought he would be safe in Durban where, until recently, violence against foreigners was less prevalent. He moved to Isipingo, an industrial area in the south of the city. When the attacks started on March 31, he was one of the first victims.

"A friend of mine told me a few days before that the Zulus were going to attack us. But I thought it was a joke. But then it happened. A gang came up the street. They were saying we should go ... that the king said we should go.

"They chased me from my shop and stole everything. They hit me, so I ran straight to the police station," he said.

Musambia, like many others at the Isipingo refugee camp, said he felt trapped.

"I can't go back to the DRC, but I don't think I can stay here. Maybe the United Nations Refugee Agency can get involved and take us to another country. But I don't know."

BEATEN: Alex Musambia

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Sunday Times (South **Africa**)

**April** 19, 2015 **Sunday**

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**And we still deny the attacks  
against foreigners are xenophobic**

**BYLINE:** Barney **Mthombathi**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 827 **words**

. And we still deny the attacks against foreigners are xenophobic

THE savage attacks on foreigners have stunned and embarrassed us all. We're at a loss for words and we seemed unaware that we were capable of such depravity.

Nothing attests to the disbelief better than the government's reluctance to label such brutality as xenophobia. It has been tying itself in semantic knots in a vain attempt to avoid uttering the word. But we should not have been surprised.

We are a damaged society. **Violence is part of our DNA. We resort to violence at the slightest**

**provocation** - in our homes, at work and in the streets. People are killed for a cellphone or a few coins in their pockets. Women are abused and murdered by their partners.

We **resort to violence** as an alcoholic turns to booze for solace. And we've learnt to justify it. When people commit crime, we say it's because they are poor. A form of redistribution, I guess.

It's a political tool, too, and not even the advent of democracy has been able to wean us from the addiction. Parliament in its short life has seen its fair share of violence.

Protest marches have become an excuse for violence. Armed with all manner of weapons, striking workers trash city centres and intimidate, even murder, non-strikers, with nary a word from the authorities.

Service delivery protesters vandalise and torch public buildings even as they decry the lack of such services and amenities. And they're encouraged in that it is only when they engage in such protests that the authorities listen to their grievances. In the new South Africa, violence not only goes unpunished, it pays.

For a country that not so long ago was universally praised for solving its intractable problems through dialogue, it is ironic and sad

that violence has seemingly become such an effective form of communication.

In the midst of such a vortex, it was probably naive to have thought that foreigners would remain unaffected, especially as African migrants often compete with the poor for scarce resources.

The spectre of marauding bands hunting other Africans like wild animals has the potential to drive a stake through the heart of South Africa's foreign policy, based as it is on the premise that the country's engagement with the rest of the world should be in cahoots with the rest of the continent.

It certainly makes nonsense of pan-Africanism, the beloved credo of countless movements that Africans should always look out for each other in the wider world. South Africa's adherence to such a fellowship becomes questionable.

Ordinary Africans are up in arms over the lynchings, and governments are bound to respond. Nigeria is already threatening to shut down South African businesses in that country. Zimbabwean MPs this week delivered a petition to the South African high commission. But had these worthies lifted a finger to stop their own country degenerating into a basket case, many of their compatriots would probably not have flocked to South Africa.

But at the heart of this problem is a lack of leadership. Thabo Mbeki flatly denied that the 2008 attacks were xenophobic. It's a line that is still followed by the government, and nothing was done in the intervening period to counter the scourge.

A year later, in his first address to parliament as president, Jacob Zuma announced measures to fix our porous borders. Six years later, nothing has been done.

We can safely assume that the measures he announced this week will also come to naught.

African leaders in general have failed their people, who have little to show for more than half a century of independence. As a result, they are scattered all over the globe, most of them doing menial work. But that is often better than what they can hope for back home.

Compared with other countries, South Africa is relatively prosperous. That has acted as a magnet for African migrants. The country now accounts for the biggest influx of migrants in the world outside the EU.

With a huge underclass of our own, that has always been a tinderbox waiting to ignite.

But Western Europe remains the preferred destination. As African leaders rail against Western imperialism to hide their own shortcomings, their people are beating a path to those countries in search of a better life. They're voting with their feet, so to speak.

On Monday, 400 Africans drowned in the Mediterranean, the deadliest such incident in a decade. And Italy's coastguards rescued 10000 migrants in just four days last week.

It's a sorry state of affairs. People would rather drown in rickety boats than stay in their countries. Unless the situation in Africa improves, its people will continue to put their lives at risk in search of greener pastures.

For now, though, the government should deal decisively with those behind these attacks, fix our leaky borders, stamp out corruption at home affairs and ensure foreigners who come here do so legally. But in the long term, we will have to grapple with our predilection for violence.

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## **Tough action to end our national shame**

**SECTION: OPINION & EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH: 529 words**

EDITORIAL COMMENT. Tough action to end our national shame

IN a month in which South Africa should be basking in glory for reaching the milestone of 21 years as a democratic nation, mayhem is taking over our streets.

For three weeks now, **Africans and Asians of foreign origin** have been hunted down, killed and maimed and had their businesses looted and burnt down by gangs of xenophobes.

Pictures and video footage of the violence have been beamed across the globe, sending the message that South Africa is a dangerous place for foreigners - particularly if they happen to have dark skins.

It is a message that has angered the world, especially **our neighbours on the continent**

whose citizens have been the main targets of the attacks.

Words of protest and condemnation from **other African nations** appear to have persuaded our government to finally act this week, with President Jacob Zuma cancelling a long-scheduled visit to Indonesia to deal with the crisis.

**His ministers** have also stopped splitting hairs on whether what we are experiencing should be classified as xenophobia.

On the ground, we have seen KwaZulu-Natal premier Senzo Mchunu, whose province has been the hardest hit by the attacks, leading mass initiatives aimed at raising public awareness against such crimes.

All of these initiatives are commendable, but the sad reality is that we have seen it all before - in 2008 and earlier this year, when foreigners were attacked in Soweto and elsewhere.

During the previous **waves of xenophobic attacks**, public statements by leaders and community initiatives did help to put an **end to violence. But** not permanently.

The reality is that such sporadic attacks are likely to be our reality for many years unless we

confront the underlying causes of this kind of lawlessness and vigilantism.

There is no doubt that the terrible socioeconomic conditions many of our communities find themselves in provide fertile ground for such hate crimes, and that our country's porous borders exacerbate the illegal immigration problem.

But these do not justify the actions of those who prey on mostly defenceless foreigners.

The criminal elements behind much of the violence engage in such attacks because they believe there will be no consequences for them.

The criminals who killed Emmanuel Sithole in Alexandra township yesterday did so in the full glare of Sunday Times cameras. They did not hide their faces, precisely because they do not think they will ever be arrested.

They have every reason to believe this. After all, only one person has been convicted for one of the killings that occurred during the 2008 wave of xenophobic attacks.

Many of those arrested for looting are released without being charged, while those who are charged are often released by the courts due to a lack of evidence.

This is what we need to confront. No amount of talking and mass rallies will put a permanent end to this shame.

What is urgently needed is a police service and a prosecuting authority that see these attacks for what they are - a direct and immediate threat to South Africa's security and stability. These two agencies should treat such cases as priority crimes that have to be dealt with swiftly.

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**Don't be misled by leaders who are lacking in history lessons**

**SECTION:** DISPATCHES; Pg. 15

**LENGTH:** 227 words

The borders that we so vocally defend by calling on **our brothers and sisters** to up and leave this country tells us that even the Zulu king, who stands firm on his right to speak for his people, is lacking in history **lessons**.

This part of southern Africa was occupied by the Khoi-Khoi and San people. The rest of the tribes came from the north and settled in what is today South Africa. That suggests **we** are **all foreigners** and must leave.

The near wiping-out of the Khoi-San was strongly condemned but are we no different in our heartlessness to our **fellow human beings**? We are the monster we pointed fingers at in the quest for the world to wake up to the **inhumane apartheid regime**.

We act **as if we do not benefit** from our fellow African countries. In 2011, South Africa's trade with the rest of Africa exceeded R220 billion - 17 percent of our total trade with the world.

**South Africans** have always advocated strengthening the continent, |as South Africa cannot thrive in a pool of poor countries, and this

entails harbouring **refugees** while peace is sought in their countries.

**Xenophobic attacks** are unjustifiable and have no place in Africa. There is no reason why we cannot address our frustration at the negotiating table and not be **misled by leaders** who forget they have a responsibility to **nation-building in their speeches**.

Hlengiwe Nkonyane

Vosloorus, **Ekurhuleni**

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## King Zwelithini should offer an earnest apology

**SECTION:** Pg. 16

**LENGTH:** 295 words

THERE are a few things we would advise Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to do as he attempts tomorrow to undo the damage he's done to South Africa through his reckless pronouncements.

We suggest that His Majesty begins his speech by offering his unqualified apology to all foreign nationals who have been affected by the wanton wave of xenophobic violence. The king must go further and impress upon his people why the current xenophobic violence must stop immediately.

Xenophobic violence amounts to hate crimes and is no different to crimes against humanity, which have been a source of great pain and anguish among many nations in the world.

The Rwandan genocide, perpetrated by the Hutus against the Tutsis, remains a painful reminder of why ethnic cleansing should never happen in this beautiful Republic of South Africa.

Apartheid persecuted millions of black people because of their skin colour. A new democratic South Africa must never dare to emulate apartheid atrocities.

Some of the immigrants who have taken refuge in South Africa have fled wars and persecution in their own countries. Our duty is to protect them and not subject them to further torment.

The anti-South African sentiment that is beginning to emerge in the rest of the continent is most unfortunate and tragic.

We are now being regarded as a nation that lacks compassion and is driven by self-hate. The damage inflicted on our image is immense and will take time to repair in the eyes of other African countries.

South African companies and embassies are facing a credibility crisis and the wrath of other African nations. We urge Zwelithini accordingly to use tomorrow's imbizo to say publicly "we are sorry". Perhaps we can then begin a process of reintegrating foreign nationals into our communities.

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**Xenophobia: a conundrum for SA****SECTION:** DISPATCHES; Pg. 13**LENGTH:** 1547 words

The government was being held to ransom this week - caught in a grip between morally indefensible xenophobia, global migration and acknowledging that grassroots feelings against foreigners, largely African, have roots in the dented dream of democracy.

An escalation of ongoing xenophobia since 2008, rather than a new outbreak, the week's anti-foreigner events held up a mirror for South Africans and their government. The events were a microcosm of much that has gone wrong in the globally-linked democratic South Africa and reflected uncomfortable realities of citizen reaction to having lost both the 1994 ideal and the trust that the government will make things right.

By this weekend, the spread of Afro-xenophobic attacks around the country indicted the perpetrators. These citizens suffer socio-economic deprivation and relate their real or imagined experiences of disrespect and deficits to their inability to compete with foreigners.

They are squeezed by the harsh realities of global migration, while they are still clutching at the fruits of their national liberation.

The outbreaks reminded us that many community protests include criminals who loot because they can. Chances are, they will not be brought to book because communities shield them, police look on, release follows arrest.

Even more, the week brought evidence of marauding mobs hungry for violent confrontation - also with those who denounce xenophobia. The dishonour, however, extends beyond these underclasses to the middle classes, who live aloof from the suffering that comes with ongoing poverty and emasculation in the race for scarce resources.

The week's events were inescapably also an indictment of the government. To be sure, it gave a formidable display of what can be done if political will arrives. The week's concerted government actions and declarations contrasted with non-existent government repertoires when xenophobic cases of the past six years had been swept under the community protest carpet.

The chickens of the de facto policy of open borders came home to roost. The president's parliamentary announcement of sharper border control confirmed the prevailing policy failure (besides appearing as using a teaspoon to stem a tide).

In place of feeble responses, the government this week delivered two presidential interventions, the security cluster stepped in and specific ministers launched reprimands, anti-xenophobic campaigns and deployed more police and other security forces. There was heightened humanitarian action and refugee (and displacement) centres sprang up.

The ANC, Cosatu and SACP issued statements and held briefings to condemn killing and looting.

The government met ambassadors of countries whose citizens were affected.

If this hive of activity had been unfolding regularly in the past six years, South Africa might have escaped much of the embarrassment of being a contender for skunk of the year. There was a display of leadership, even if Parliament, the cabinet and the president might have little standing with the perpetrators.

Of course, not all of this week's government actions were exemplary. Feeble rhetoric repeated itself. Criminality and national disgrace became "unacceptable", rather than "morally reprehensible".

King Goodwill Zwelithini got unparalleled kid-glove treatment. President Jacob Zuma reinforced national liberation rhetoric in relating how the ANC was treated generously when in exile but ignored that, in political struggle days, it was governments hosting the ANC - its leaders often resided in middle-class suburbs, commanding their members who were in out-of-the-way camps, often being supported by the international community.

The government was silent on the fact that the xenophobic violence displaces blame for socio-economic deprivation. While African "foreigners" are blamed for at least some of the social ills permeating township and informal settlement life, including health, educational and social service infrastructure, the ANC government is apportioned less of the blame.

The middle class, generally white citizens specifically, and the ruling class obviously, benefit from blame displacement. It is foreigners' shops that go shutters-up, not the Johannesburg Stock Exchange or Umhlanga's Gateway Mall.

Middle-class life in South Africa continued unaffected, while the underclasses were fighting it out, except that their underpaid Zimbabwean waiters and gardeners might be on the run.

The ruling class obviously suffers being shamed by fellow African governments and embarrassed by social media rumours that everybody from Boko Haram to Renamo's Afonso Dhlakama are set to launch rescue missions.

The ANC government obviously does not "design" its policy of open borders with a view to getting paperless foreigners to come and help share blame for delivery deficits. But it is certainly one of the de facto effects of the policy of limited control of immigration from African countries.

This is besides the fact that the influx and the added stress on social services strain the fiscus, from which the ANC government then suffers. Meanwhile, cheap and docile (fearing deportation) labour helps capital.

Afro-patriotic, pan-Africanist and universalist rhetoric flowed to try to subdue xenophobic bouts in which the Afrophobia seemed to include shopkeepers, traders and other small-business operators from the Indian subcontinent, those who operate in the physical world of the underclasses.

Zuma noted that "we cannot accept that when there are challenges, we then use violence, particularly to our brothers and sisters from the continent". ANC treasurer-general Zweli Mkhize reminded South Africans "we are all children of Africa". The thought lingered that had the 2008 perpetrators been arrested and charged, the xenophobia label would not have been sticking so well. The soothing words would have had gravitas.

By all appearances, the government lacks the will to reverse the influx of foreign citizens. As

much as its management is out of control, the problem is likely to have become irreversible.

From a policy perspective, the vexing question is, why does South Africa maintain open borders to citizens from Africa? Is it selective enforcement of both border and immigration control and law enforcement? Is it lack of capacity and ineptitude?

Foreigners get absorbed into the national social-services network while they trade, operate small businesses or, on the darker side of life and alongside many South African counterparts, thrive on crime.

There is a lumpen-proletariat underworld in which life is cheap, and xenophobia is but one expression of the laws of that world.

The government has lost authority over vast tracks of South Africa, over the underworld where xenophobia, looting and parading mobs rule. Research at the time of the 2008 outbreaks pointed to an anarchic world, with its own priorities and competing elusive power structures. From high-level bribes and huge drug deals to usurious microloans and coercive local political systems, it runs parallel to anything official, democratic and constitutionally legitimate.

The small miracle of the week is that concerted action led to the violence and looting being subdued.

This week's xenophobia was a case of two-sided lawlessness: foreigners unofficially entering and drawing on South African social infrastructure plus lawlessness in terms of seeking real or imagined revenge, looting and killing by a minority substantial enough to earn South Africa scoundrel status around the world.

Lawfulness still has a modest edge over lawlessness in South Africa, even if much of society - middle classes included - often display a wonderfully lawless side.

This lawlessness has roots in the fact that the constitution's Bill of Rights offers no absolute guarantees. It is a "law" that does not dictate. There follows a legal system that functions at some levels, but often not at all, and a system of policing in which citizens do not trust their "protection officers".

Or, think of a Human Rights Commission that this week found a little voice again to pronounce on xenophobia but has been largely silent on the personal and systemic devastation that poverty and unemployment wreak in South Africa.

This all unfolds under the watch of a government that proclaims that tolerance of foreign citizens is part of paying back to our continental brothers and sisters for their part in the liberation struggle... forgetting for a moment that neither Zimbabwe nor Somalia helped much; Mozambique and Ethiopia did. This motivation nevertheless helps the ANC prolong the legacy of the liberation struggle, increasingly its predominant lever on legitimacy.

Alternatively, it could very well be a case of the government not having the authority and capacity to correct the situation to ensure that a lawful, law-abiding South Africa takes shape. South Africa's struggling but comparatively big economy is a capitalist magnet and "informal foreigners" have even become employers of note.

South Africa's tides of April exposed the extent to which its "battle for economic liberation" unfolds in the firm grip of global economic migration, flights of repression and chaos, and a national government that strains to try to gain control.

n Booyesen is professor at the Wits School of Governance.

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**ANARCHY, CHAOS ON THE  
STREETS OF SOUTH AFRICA  
Attacks a chilling reminder of 2008  
carnage**

BYLINE: Staff Report and Daily **Mail**SECTION: NEWS; Pg. **6**LENGTH: 1044 **words**

On Friday night, in scenes reminiscent of the early 1990s violence on the Reef, scores of Jeppe and George Goch hostel inmates went on the rampage, breaking into businesses and threatening to unleash violence on everyone in their path.

According to **Thabiso Thakali of Independent Newspapers**, the men, armed with an

assortment of weapons including guns, divided themselves into groups of 20. They went in different directions along the M2 highway that goes over Jeppe, Denver and George **Goch**.

Thakali said minibuses were dropping the men off and picking them up at different spots. And this kept the police very busy.

He said Jeppetown was under lockdown as the inmates barricaded the freeway using rocks. Police had a difficult job trying to close off the freeway and turning away cars approaching the area.

**A woman whose vehicle had sustained a puncture stopped and asked the media crew to help her change the tyre. Thakali said they advised the terrified woman to keep on driving and get to the nearest garage as changing a tyre was dangerous with the mobs running around and firing at the police.**

**"They had guns and fired live ammunition in the direction of the police. The highway had to be blocked by the police, who were turning away cars because of the rocks and the live**

ammunition being fired towards them on the M2, next to the (Ellis Park) stadium around Denver.

"There were these minibuses that were taking and dropping these men off at different points.

"They tried to break into a workshop in Jules Street and when the police told them to stop, they scattered and jumped over walls and started firing at the police," he said.

"We wanted to get closer but the police warned us that we were in danger. We also tried to approach the mob as journalists wanting to talk to them, but they came charging towards us and we had to drive off. These guys are blood-thirsty. If we had not run, they were going to hurt us badly.

"Our convoy had to make a U-turn on the highway against oncoming traffic. The police were also afraid of going inside the hostels. Later, reinforcements arrived and members of ama-Beret were able to move in," he said.

"This had nothing to do with fighting for the genuine cause of unemployment but was just plain criminality. This is thuggery. As we had gathered as journalists from print as well as local and international television, we were battling to find a name for what was happening. It was pure criminality."

Last night, police battled to contain a wave of violence as gangs of migrants armed themselves with machetes to fight off anti-foreigner attacks by locals.

Five people have died since vigilantes started looting and attacking shops owned by immigrants, mainly from other parts of Africa.

Police fired stun grenades and rubber bullets as immigrant gangs confronted the vigilantes, and last night in parts of Johannesburg officers formed a human barrier to keep the two sides apart.

More than 200 immigrants had to take refuge in a police station and dozens of businesses

were closed when trouble spread just a day after a rally against xenophobia in Durban, where the attacks began.

Immigrants have complained about a lack of protection from the authorities and some have started arming themselves to fight back.

Eyewitnesses have claimed that the vigilante violence is being carefully orchestrated and that minibuses have been ferrying men armed with knives and machetes around these suburbs.

In the past two weeks, shops and homes owned by Somalis, Ethiopians, Malawians and other migrants have been targeted, forcing more than 2 000 to flee to camps protected by armed guards.

Foreign shop owners near Johannesburg reportedly fled their businesses after receiving a text message saying "Zulu people are coming to town... to kill every foreigner".

With unemployment mounting, many South Africans accuse immigrants from other parts of Africa and Asia of taking their jobs.

The violence has largely been blamed on comments by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who said foreigners were "lice" who should "pack their bags" and return home.

He has since said that his comments were misinterpreted.

President Jacob Zuma has condemned the violence as a "violation" of South Africa's values.

"No amount of frustration or anger can ever justify the attacks," he said.

The Desmond and Leah Tutu Legacy Foundation, which campaigns for peace, warned: "The fabric of the nation is splitting at the seams; its precious nucleus - our moral core - is being ruptured."

In Johannesburg, Malawian immigrant Samuel Idrissa described how his friend was stabbed

and set on fire by a mob. "We wanted to rescue him but there were too many of them," he said. "It was shocking."

He added: "We have all left our homes. Those affected are those of us who live in poor townships because we live with poor South Africans who do not have jobs."

Durban, South Africa's third-biggest city, has been hardest hit, with tents set up in the suburb of Chatsworth to offer sanctuary to 1 200 **migrants** who were forced from their homes.

Demonstrators who gathered for a peace march in the coastal city after days of violence were jeered by a crowd of hundreds.

Attacks on **foreigners** in Johannesburg in 2008 left 60 dead.

Meanwhile, Zimbabwe's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) is calling on the **South African government** to put a stop to the rampant attacks on foreign nationals.

The organisation also said it was in the process of seeking a meeting with the Zulu king and the ministers of home affairs and police to raise awareness of their plight.

"We are concerned about reckless statements being spewed by some South African leadership. We urge our fellow brothers to be

compassionate about life. Their responses to the eruption of xenophobic attacks must not sound like justification of the local people's anger," the MDC-T said.

"We want to remind South Africans that Zimbabweans also suffered for supporting the fight against apartheid. The majority of South African leaders stayed, worked and got educated in Zimbabwe.

"Zimbabweans died when the apartheid government bombed the Harare Sheraton (while) pursuing Thabo Mbeki when he ran to Zimbabwe in the late 1980s," said the statement, signed by MDC-T South African chairman Chief Ndlovu.

n Additional reporting by Zingisa **Mkhuma**.

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## 'All I wanted was a better future'

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 7

**LENGTH:** 291 words

'THE South African government has failed me.'

These were the words of Malawian Yusuf Jake who, together with two friends, was almost killed during a xenophobic attack at his Crossmoor, Chatsworth, home earlier this month.

Jake, 30, was among thousands of foreigners who were placed at the Chatsworth refugee campsite in Westcliff, Chatsworth, earlier this week.

He was at home when a group of men posing as visitors attacked him and his friend Sam Justin, and a man known only as Eric.

The men threw him out of his house, cut off part of his ear, kicked him in his abdomen and tried to gouge out his eyes.

"All I heard them say was we were foreigners," said Jake, speaking through a translator, yesterday.

"The attackers had so much hatred in their eyes. Their intention was to kill us, but we are glad the police arrived in time," he said.

Jake moved to Durban in 2010. It was during this time that many other Malawians entered the

country. He came to the city in the hope of finding employment as unemployment was rife in Malawi.

"I was able to find a job as a machine operator at a very promising company and everything looked up for me. We were so content living in this beautiful country. But there is nothing left for me now. I am afraid they may strike again, and this time I may not be so lucky," he said.

While Jake and Justin are contemplating returning to Malawi, Eric is nowhere to be found.

"We last saw him in hospital, recovering from his injuries, but somewhere along the line he was separated from us. We hope he is safe."

He said he was saddened that foreigners were being subjected to such "torture and pain".

"My only crime was hoping for a better future. I am sad to leave this country, but I do not want to end up being murdered," he said.

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Sunday Tribune (South **Africa**)**April 19, 2015**E1 **Edition****Do more to stop the hate crimes****SECTION:** Pg. **20****LENGTH:** 163 **words**

Despite ongoing efforts by **civil society and the government** to **curb hate crimes such as xenophobia**, further steps must be taken to **address discriminatory violence** in South **Africa**.

Every citizen needs to acknowledge and condemn the crime of xenophobia.

Like other forms of crime, xenophobic violence threatens social cohesion and economic growth.

Perpetrators of discriminatory crimes often go unpunished, which sends a message that **foreigners, refugees and immigrants** can be criticised and attacked at will.

Tighter laws, visible enforcement and the prosecution of offenders would help to address

hate crimes and send a clear message that **xenophobic violence** will not be tolerated.

**Strategies must be put in place to promote peaceful co-existence** and a commission must be set up to address the root causes of hate crimes.

Most important, businesses and the government must work together to create jobs for the millions who are unemployed and living in poverty.

MOHAMED SAEED

**Pietermaritzburg****LOAD-DATE:** April 20, **2015****LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH****PUBLICATION-TYPE:** **Newspaper****JOURNAL-CODE:** **NT**

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April 19, 2015

E1 Edition

## Long live King Ben the benign

**LENGTH:** 930 words

The warnings started appearing on Facebook on Tuesday. It might have been Monday. When you do what I do for a living, the only difference between days is the spelling.

One woman posted on her wall: "Stay clear of Point Road today. Xenophobic attacks and looting going on." Who was she advising? She didn't look like the type of person with friends who frequented Point Road.

The last time I went to Point Road, I got arrested for swearing at a policeman. It's not safe down there any more. It was fine when it was a pestilential bog of whores and drug dealers, but those glory days are over. Now it's called Mahatma Gandhi Street and the hookers and junkies must share their turf with protesters and looters. Fair enough. It's the democratic way.

Facebook, being home to many of our finest political commentators, was awash with intelligent reaction. "WTF?" seemed popular.

I don't even know why eNCA bothers speaking to experts like Angelo Fick for in-depth analysis. He could just sit there shaking his head and saying "WTF?" after every story. Everyone else does.

Someone responded to the posting with a helpful: "Get out of there." These words were shouted at me once when I was younger and easily startled, and it took a week to lure me out of the vegetation with a trail of tiny bottles of airline vodka.

If you're white and your friends and relatives are advising you to get out, you can be sure they don't mean your house or even suburb.

They're talking about your country. How is that even an option for most people? Should they not be saying: "If you qualify for Australia's impenetrable points system and have a huge amount of money in the bank and no pets, children, elderly parents or employees who rely on you, get out of there."

A lot of white people are getting jumpy. First the statues, now the foreigners. Sooner or later, the vandals and Visigoths are going to want to start on real symbols of oppression that actually scream when they are toppled. It's so much more interactive.

On Tuesday, Police Minister Nathi Nhleko sauntered into the fray. Anyone hoping for Charles Bronson in Death Wish would have been disappointed.

He was speaking to journalists in Parliament, along with his colleagues from something called the justice, crime prevention and security cluster.

Great. There's nothing like a cluster to get a murderous mob to put down their pangas and listen. Especially if the cluster is made up of well-fed men in expensive suits.

"What you don't see is Australians being chased on the streets, Britons being chased on the streets, and similar demands being placed on them that they should leave the country," Nhleko said.

Comrade, please. We're trying to lie low, here. The cerebrally challenged herd of bloodmongers won't differentiate between white South Africans, Aussies, Poms or even

Lithuanians for that matter. So don't go putting ideas into their heads. It's far safer that they have no ideas.

Nhleko said the problem was ideological in nature. He's right, of course, and I cannot understand why the government has not yet formed a Special Ideological Squad that can subdue the rampaging scofflaws by offering them a cappuccino and two free lectures on The Importance of African Unity.

"What we are witnessing," warbled Nhleko, "are Afrophobic activities and attacks... resembling all elements of self-hate... among Africans and so forth."

Thabo Mbeki said things like "and so forth". It's a career-killer, Nathi. Drop it.

So. Afrophobia. I like it. If we are going to have phobias, let's at least have ones that even the dull-witted underclass stand a chance of grasping.

Nobody should feel left out. That's what mob rule is all about. Inclusivity. Viva. Pass the petrol bomb on the left hand side. It a gonna burn.

The minister has clearly been to university. At a guess I'd say he studied psychology at some point. People don't use phrases like "resembling all elements of self-hate" unless they're really stoned or really educated. Sometimes both.

If the homicidal hoi polloi are suffering self-hatred, they should try self-harming. I believe it works wonders as an outlet for anger and low self-esteem.

Of course, none of this might have anything to do with xenophobia, Afrophobia, arachnophobia or any other kind of phobia. They might just be doing it out of sheer boredom.

If I had to spend all day standing on a street corner waiting for nothing to happen, I might not turn down the opportunity to taunt the cops and

burn a tyre or two. Killing, maiming and pillaging aside, protesting looks like it could be a lot of fun.

Sadly, I don't feel I have earned the right to brandish a machete or fling poo. Most days I am so full of white guilt and male shame that I can barely poo at all.

As for that freeloading malcontent Goodwill Zwelithini, the less said the better. He denied having publicly called for immigrants to pack their bags and leave the country at the same time that radio and television stations were broadcasting that bit of his speech where he called for immigrants to pack their bags and leave the country.

"You journalists are causing chaos," quoth the royal rabble-rouser. That's right. It's because of the media that overseas travel agents are quietly covering up their posters of Durban with posters of, I don't know, pretty much any place that doesn't offer ethnic cleansing as one of its attractions.

All I can suggest is that the ironically named Goodwill abdicate immediately. I am prepared to take over until a more suitable monarch can be found. I will have no wives and demand nothing but free beer from the taxpayer. Long live King Ben.

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All Rights **Reserved****Sunday Tribune (South Africa)****April 19, 2015****E1 Edition****Are we at the end of the rainbow?****SECTION:** Pg. **19****LENGTH:** 1088 **words**

The Rainbow Nation seems to be in tatters. It was a dream that carried us out of the possibility of an ongoing civil war in the 1990s. But it always papered over the deep divisions in our society. However, no national narrative or social compact has been generated to replace the dream. As often happens with national unity, it breaks down our politics - splitting into a series of aggressive and crude forms of chauvinism.

The violence against our fellow Africans in recent days has been horrific. This stain will hang over our city and country for years to come. We have sunk into a moral and political abyss. Our leaders can forget plans for major international sports events and a booming tourism industry. All of that now seems lost. Durban has ruined its international **reputation**.

The events of recent days did not come from nowhere. Many of our leaders have made public statements that are xenophobic and policing has frequently been conducted in a highly xenophobic fashion. The state is not innocent in

this. The media is also complicit. There has often been needless fear-mongering about migration and **migrants** have been subject to all kinds of stereotypes in the media. But ordinary South Africans, of all classes, also share in the responsibility for this. From the informal settlements and the RDP houses to the mansions in Musgrave and uMhlanga, **ordinary South Africans continue to reproduce xenophobic stereotypes. We are collectively responsible for this descent into the moral abyss.**

Xenophobia is not the only form of chauvinism afflicting society. Grassroots activists have been speaking, for some years, about growing discrimination against people from the Eastern Cape. There have been cases where politicians and officials have been recorded expressing crude prejudices against such people.

And in past weeks crude anti-Indian prejudices have resurfaced again. It was reported that at a recent protest against a colonial statue on the campus of UKZN, a person identifying himself as an EFF supporter demanded the expulsion of Indians from South Africa. The EFF has not issued a statement condemning this. In fact, EFF leader Jackie Shandu has made public anti-Indian statements and has demanded that Indians be excluded from the category of people considered to be black.

The EFF has a record of unprincipled politics. One of its KZN spokespeople was found guilty

of participation in xenophobic violence in 2009. For a political party claiming to be progressive to allow people who trade in the politics of narrow racial and national chauvinism to hold high office is indicative of the sort of opportunism that has no regard for principle.

But the EFF is not the only cause of our problems. In recent days another small group, Mayibuye, attacked Malawians and Ethiopians in Clare Estate. Residents report that the Mayibuye members involved in this attack have said that Indians will be next.

There are also all kinds of rumours about factionalism within the ruling party being connected to the recent violence. Time will tell whether or not these rumours are true. But there is certainly a history of local structures getting involved in xenophobic violence. An ANC councillor was involved in xenophobic violence a few years ago.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA and its |United Front have not been a force of any consequence as this disaster has unfolded. However, grassroots organisations like Ubunye bama Hostela Nezakhiwo Zawo and Abahlali baseMjondolo have taken very clear positions against xenophobia.

Some of the religious leaders and organisations, and especially Bishop Rubin Phillip and Gift of the Givers, have come out of this crisis with their moral integrity intact. It is vital that in this crisis progressive religious leaders and formations receive our full support.

But while it is of the utmost urgency that we act to stop the violence, to arrest and prosecute the perpetrators and to provide for those that have been bereaved, injured and forced into **refugee** camps; **we need to think seriously about how to rebuild an inclusive political vision.**

One step towards this will require a decisive break with the politics of crude sloganeering on the basis of narrow identities. For instance, the

presentation of **all migrants as criminals** must be stopped. The category of people who are **migrants** and the category of people who **are criminals** are not the same; and must never be treated as the same.

We also need to act decisively against the collapse into the politics of ethnic and racial chauvinism among South Africans. **All have a right to live wherever they choose in South Africa, and to be full citizens.** Anyone who says that people from the Eastern Cape do not have a right to be in this province, or that Indians do not have a right to be South Africans, must be opposed at every turn. Of course, this doesn't mean that we should be silent about the real phenomena of Indian racism. This must be confronted openly and honestly wherever it rears its ugly head. But to suggest that all Indians are racist is as outrageous as suggesting that all **migrants** are criminals.

But opposing the collapse into a narrow politics of ethnic, racial and national chauvinism is not enough. To really move we need to develop a new vision to replace the myth of the Rainbow Nation. This has to be a vision that takes inequalities seriously and has a real strategy to build a just society. This is difficult work. It requires hard choices. It will mean that capital cannot continue to operate outside any real social responsibility. It will mean that we will have to build integrated cities. It will mean that we will have to act against the SA Democratic Teachers Union and build a viable education system. It will mean that we need to build a viable public health care system. **Above all, it will mean that we cannot continue to pretend that giving people rights on paper is the same as giving them real opportunities and a real stake in society.**

There is a long and dangerous road ahead. If we don't break out of the vicious circle into which we have sunk; national, racial and ethnic chauvinism will continue to fester and our society will continue to be scarred by violence.

It is vital that all people of good conscience come together and commit themselves to building a just and inclusive society.

The alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

I Imraan Buccus is Research Fellow in the School of Social Sciences at UKZN and academic director of a university study abroad programme on political transformation

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**'They did not think about our futures'**

**BYLINE:** NKULULEKO NENE

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5

**LENGTH:** 233 words

RACHEL Buloze was among the many children at Isipingo transit camp who missed going to school.

A Grade 5 pupil at a primary school in Sydenham, she said she wanted to become a nurse.

But if she is unable to attend school that dream will be taken away.

Buloze and her friend Noela Chikuru, 15 said the conditions at the camp were "horrible". They blamed those responsible for the attacks for not considering their futures.

"I miss my friends at school. I do not like this place it is horrible. What did we do to deserve this? I did not take anybody's job as the locals claim.

"We live in dirty filthy conditions here. We share only a few toilets and they are far away. Every time I need to use a toilet I ask my friends to walk me there because I am scared," Buloze said.

Chikuru from Democratic Republic of Congo, said she had seen a snake in the camp the other day.

"It does not seem like we will go back to school anytime soon. We need to catch up with the others.

"The attackers were ignorant - there are wars in our countries otherwise we would not be here," Chikuru said.

KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education spokes-man Muzi Mahlambi said they were working with other departments to reintegrate the displaced communities. "We are collating the figures. After a process has been finalised we will come up with a plan on how they will catch up with their studies," said Mahlambi.

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Sunday Tribune (South Africa)

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## Education is key to stopping violence

**SECTION:** TRIBUNE HERALD; Pg. 2

**LENGTH:** 504 words

THE recent attacks on foreigners in Durban and surrounding areas have sparked outrage in many communities.

Foreigners have been violently driven from their business premises and homes to live in camps because they are afraid for their lives.

The brutal killings of foreigners in other parts of the country, impact on the way these individuals will react to this behaviour in KwaZulu-Natal.

It is imperative that the department of Home Affairs as well as the Department of International Relations and Co-operation intervenes to stop these violent attacks.

It is the opinion of the Minority Front that education is key.



Our people must be informed that there are various scenarios in which foreigners, find themselves in South Africa.

It must be noted that there are business people who participate in the economic activities of our country and do so by complying with legal requirements.

They possess legitimate documentation to either own businesses, gain employment, study or even remain citizens in our country.

They comply with taxation regulations and make a meaningful contribution toward the economic growth of our economy.

As a government, we must ensure that the rights of these individuals, as enshrined in the constitution of South Africa, are protected.

In this case we must recommit to a non-racist and non-violent democratic society.

We must also be aware of the fact that there are those who come into our country seeking asylum because of the unstable political climate within their own countries.

We must not forget that during the dark days of apartheid it was in these neighbouring countries that our people sought asylum from the persecution that they encountered.

We must also be reminded that there are those who come through our borders as refugees because of natural disasters and other elements that threaten their well-being and safety.

We would be ignorant if we failed to acknowledge that there are those who enter our country through poor border control or just through illegal means.

These individuals must be apprehended and deported.

This will ensure that we keep somewhat accurate records of those crossing our borders.

This demands the immediate intervention of various government departments, particularly the Department of Home Affairs.

We must ensure that we conduct a census of all foreigners within South Africa and either deport those who are here illegally or provide them with some status that grants them protection from the current xenophobic violence we are experiencing.

Minority Front leader Shameen Thakur Rajbansi says we must make people aware of the reasons these people are in our country and ensure that we are peaceful in our interaction instead of promoting violence and instability.

More needs to be done to take this message to our communities so that locals understand how to deal with matters of discontent and who to report these to, instead of taking the law into their own hands and bringing misery to so many men, women, children and babies.

Jonathan Annipen

Minority Front spokesman

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**'Things are tough at the camp'****BYLINE:** Nabeelah Shaikh**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5**LENGTH:** 152 words

It has been a gloomy week for Lloyd Machigika, a 27-year-old Zimbabwean at the Chatsworth refugee campsite.

The camp houses at least 1 200 people who lost everything when their properties were ransacked.

Machigika, who worked in Durban as an artisan before the attacks, was cooking chicken feet on a little fire at the site when the Sunday Tribune arrived.

He sold the chicken to others within the camp to make a few rand.

"When I left my home, I left with nothing but the clothes I am wearing and a few rand," he said.

Machigika said that he slipped out of the camp to buy the chicken and prayed that along the way nobody would identify him as a foreigner.

"Luckily, I returned safely. I was desperate to get something I could sell," he said.

"Life has been tough here at the camp. We have running water and toilets but there are so many of us that queue to use the facilities," Machigika said.

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**Worst injuries in 38 years - medic****BYLINE:** NKULULEKO NENE**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 5**LENGTH:** 231 words

"IT looked like an egg smashed against the wall." That is how 63-year-old veteran paramedic Nur Holmes described the injuries of one of the foreigners attacked by locals.

Holmes and his wife, Aziza, have been working at the refugee camp in Westcliff, housing displaced foreigners for the past two weeks.

They are with the Voluntary Medical Response Services and have been attending to the victims. He said the injuries were the worst he had seen in his 38-year career.

"The stench of burnt human flesh and fresh blood is nauseating. I attended to Zimbabwean, Vincent Shaba, 25, whose genitals were mutilated in a beating by the locals at Lusaka informal settlement on Good Friday.

"He was also stabbed 21 times in the neck and his upper body. They cut the top of his penis off. I think they were trying to remove it. I didn't think he would make it but it's a miracle he is recovering in hospital. Two days later I attended to two males who were attacked in the same settlement but they died in hospital. I don't know their names"

Holmes said the most gruesome scene was on Monday at about 1.30am when a man's throat was slit and his head smashed. "He died at the scene. After that things started heating up in Bottlebrush informal settlement and scores of victims were treated and taken to hospital but some have been discharged while others are still receiving care."

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**Xenophobia: a conundrum of hate**

SECTION: Pg. 18

LENGTH: 1176 words

The government was being held to ransom this week - caught in a grip between morally indefensible xenophobia, global migration and acknowledging that grassroots feelings against foreigners, largely African, have roots in the dented dream of democracy.

An escalation of ongoing xenophobia since 2008, rather than a new outbreak, the week's anti-foreigner events held up a mirror for South Africans and their government. The events were a microcosm of much that has gone wrong in the globally-linked democratic South Africa and reflected uncomfortable realities of citizen reaction to having lost both the 1994 ideal and the trust that the government will make things right.

By this weekend, the spread of Afro-xenophobic attacks around the country indicted the perpetrators. These citizens suffer socio-economic deprivation and relate their real or imagined experiences of disrespect and deficits to their inability to compete with foreigners.

They are squeezed by the harsh realities of global migration, while they are still clutching at the fruits of their national liberation.

The outbreaks reminded us that many community protests include criminals who loot because they can. Chances are, they will not be brought to book because communities shield them, police look on, release follows arrest.

Even more, the week brought evidence of marauding mobs hungry for violent confrontation - also with those who denounce xenophobia. The dishonour, however, extends beyond these underclasses to the middle classes, who live aloof from the suffering that comes with ongoing poverty and emasculation in the race for scarce resources.

The week's events were inescapably also an indictment of the government. To be sure, it gave a formidable display of what can be done if political will arrives. The week's concerted government actions and declarations contrasted with non-existent government repertoires when xenophobic cases of the past six years had been swept under the community protest carpet.

The chickens of the de facto policy of open borders came home to roost. The president's parliamentary announcement of sharper border control confirmed the prevailing policy failure.

In place of feeble responses, the government this week delivered two presidential interventions, the security cluster stepped in and specific ministers launched reprimands, anti-xenophobic campaigns and deployed more police and other security forces. There was heightened humanitarian action and refugee (and displacement) centres sprang up.

The ANC, Cosatu and SACP issued statements and held briefings to condemn killing and looting. The government met ambassadors of countries whose citizens were affected.

Of course, not all of this week's government actions were exemplary. Feeble rhetoric repeated itself. Criminality and national disgrace became "unacceptable", rather than "morally reprehensible".

King Goodwill Zwelithini got unparalleled kid-glove treatment. President Jacob Zuma reinforced national liberation rhetoric in relating how the ANC was treated generously when in exile but ignored that, in political struggle days, it was governments hosting the ANC - its leaders often resided in middle-class suburbs, commanding their members who were in out-of-the-way camps, often being supported by the international community.

The government was silent on the fact that the xenophobic violence displaces blame for socio-economic deprivation. While African "foreigners" are blamed for some of the social ills permeating township and informal settlement life, including health, educational and social service infrastructure, the ANC government is apportioned less of the blame.

The middle class, generally white citizens specifically, and the ruling class obviously, benefit from blame displacement. It is foreigners' shops that go shutters-up, not the JSE or uMhlanga's Gateway Mall.

Middle-class life in South Africa continued unaffected, while the underclasses were fighting it out, except that their underpaid Zimbabwean waiters and gardeners might be on the run.

The ruling class obviously suffers being shamed by fellow African governments and embarrassed by social media rumours that everybody from Boko Haram to Renamo's Afonso Dhlakama are set to launch rescue missions.

The ANC government obviously does not "design" its policy of open borders with a view to getting paperless foreigners to come and help share blame for delivery deficits. But it is certainly one of the de facto effects of the policy of limited control of immigration from African countries.

Zuma noted that "we cannot accept that when there are challenges, we then use violence, particularly to our brothers and sisters from the continent". ANC treasurer-general Zweli Mkhize reminded South Africans "we are all children of Africa". The thought lingered that had the 2008 perpetrators been arrested and charged, the xenophobia label would not have been sticking so well. The soothing words would have had gravitas.

By all appearances, the government lacks the will to reverse the influx of foreign citizens. As much as its management is out of control, the problem is likely to have become irreversible.

From a policy perspective, the vexing question is, why does South Africa maintain open borders to citizens from Africa? Is it selective enforcement of both border and immigration control and law enforcement? Is it lack of capacity and ineptitude?

Foreigners get absorbed into the national social-services network while they trade, operate small businesses or, on the darker side of life and alongside many South African counterparts, thrive on crime.

There is a lumpen-proletariat underworld in which life is cheap, and xenophobia is but one expression of the laws of that world.

The government has lost authority over vast tracts of South Africa, over the underworld where xenophobia, looting and parading mobs rule.

The small miracle of the week is that concerted action led to the violence and looting being subdued.

This week's **xenophobia** was a **case of two-sided lawlessness: foreigners unofficially entering and drawing on South African social infrastructure plus** lawlessness in terms of seeking real or imagined revenge, looting and killing by a minority substantial enough to earn South Africa scoundrel status around the world.

Lawfulness still has a modest edge over lawlessness in South Africa, even if much of society - middle classes included - often display a wonderfully lawless side.

This lawlessness has roots in the fact that the constitution's Bill of Rights offers no absolute guarantees. It is a "law" that does not dictate. There follows a legal system that functions at some levels, but often not at all, and a system of policing in which citizens do not trust their "protection officers".

South Africa's tides of April exposed the extent to which its "battle for economic liberation"

unfolds in the firm grip of global economic migration, flights of repression and chaos, and a national government that strains to try to gain control.

I Booysen is a professor at the Wits School of **Governance**.

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**April** 19, **2015**

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**third force probe**

**BYLINE:** Nabeelah **Shaikh**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **1**

**LENGTH:** 565 **words**

The State Security Agency believes there is a "third force" behind the **xenophobic violence sweeping** through KwaZulu- Natal and Gauteng.

Sources close to the investigation are probing four possible causes - political motivation, foreign interference to destabilise the country, organised crime, and the community reacting in anger because of the economic conditions.

State Security Agency (SSA) spokesman Brian Dube said that, at this stage, they could not confirm where it was coming from. He said the SSA was doing everything possible to find the cause.

"Police have been very active and they have worked with us. We have deployed a lot of officers and will continue to do so. We are still trying to establish if there is a third force and where it stems from," he said.

Yesterday President Jacob Zuma cancelled his overseas travels to address victims of xenophobia who were staying at a refugee camp in Chatsworth. Speaking there, he vowed to help foreigners who wanted to leave the country.

"We are not chasing you, we are saying that, as government, we are willing to do our best to help you if you want to go home. For those who want to stay, we will find peace," he said.

Earlier at least 15 buses lined up at refugee camps around Durban to repatriate those wanting to return to Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Malawi and Somalia. Municipal officials who had gone to the camps to allay fears were instead told to go away as foreigners chanted: "Sifuna ukuhamba (we want to go)."

Thousands have been displaced since the violence broke out in Durban almost two weeks ago. It has spread to Pietermaritzburg and Joburg where cases of intimidation and violence, including two deaths, were reported yesterday.

While the police in Durban said the situation was under control a group of about 40 foreigners living in the Cato Crest informal settlement were among the latest to be attacked.

Patrick Horacio Nhamageho, 29, from Mozambique, was among those chased out of his home on Friday night. He said he had been

asleep when a group of about 20 men stormed into his house and assaulted him.

"They came into the township and asked people to point out the foreigners and some of them did. This is when they came to attack us. I managed to run away and get to the police station," he said.

Nhamageho returned to his house with the police yesterday morning to fetch his valuables only to find that it had been looted.

Police spokesman Colonel Jay Naicker confirmed the attacks.

The current death toll as a result of the attacks remains at six, while the police have arrested 112 people.

This week it also emerged that South Africa was receiving threats from terrorist organisations Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab.

Dube said the SSA was not taking the reported threats for granted, but people using social media should be "wary".

"We urge people to be cautious and not create unnecessary panic. Many of the threats started on social media platforms and there are photoshopped images circulating. We have verified these things and we know it is not real."

Dube said the National Joint Operation centre had been activated to co-ordinate all security measures for the week ahead.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, labelled by some as the cause for the attacks on foreign nationals - a claim he denies - will hold an imbizo tomorrow. Dube said security had been heightened to ensure that this ran smoothly.

Additional reporting by |Nkululeko Nene

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All Rights **Reserved**Sunday Tribune (South **Africa**)**April 19, 2015****E1 Edition****South Africa, we are better than this****SECTION: Pg. 18****LENGTH: 573 words**

I often say living in South Africa is like being on a constant rollercoaster. One minute everything is wonderful, and the next it seems like everything might come crashing down at the drop of a **hat**.

Today is one of the latter days. South Africa has been putting a plaster over the seeping wound that is xenophobia for too long, and earlier this week, the **inaction on the part of the government** sparked a wave of senseless **attacks against foreigners, fellow African**s, who left their homelands in search of a better future.

**These horrific attacks** are not just a complete assault on everything the South African

Constitution represents, but go against what it means to be a human being.

This recent eruption of targeted attacks against foreigners has been brewing for months, if not years. Our ailing economy certainly doesn't make the situation better.

At least six people have been killed, more than **2 000 foreigners have already sought shelter in refugee camps** in Durban, the violence has spread to Joburg, the Malawi government has begun what it calls its voluntary repatriation programme for citizens in the wake of the violence and there have been calls by African states to boycott South African products, businesses and even performers.

What I find even more puzzling is **South Africans** are targeting **the very people** who took them in during apartheid, nations who marched and campaigned with us against an oppressive system. If anyone would know how awful it is to be persecuted simply for existing, it is South Africans.

It is South Africa's duty to be as respectful to other African countries as they have always been to us.

After all we have been through as a nation, it is unfathomable that this wouldn't be ingrained into each and every one of us.

The attacks are especially upsetting on Yom HaShoah, the day when the world remembers the 6 million Jews who were killed by the Nazis. Yom HaShoah, a day which serves another reminder that senseless hatred has no boundaries.

I also think back to our great Nelson Mandela whose message was always one of tolerance and acceptance. I wonder how he would feel witnessing the tarnishing of his dream of a rainbow nation.

Having said all of this, I have also witnessed something remarkable this week. Almost 10,000 South Africans of all colours, creeds and backgrounds came together to march in peace against the violence, a demonstration in my opinion, of the indomitable South African and African spirit.

Earlier this week, I also attended a march by hundreds of Wits students against the barbaric Garissa attacks in Kenya earlier this month.

Tolerance is key in breaking down the barriers of prejudice and hate.

The work Homecoming Revolution is doing aims to help Africans recognise each other as Africans, and calls for Africans from all corners

of the world to recognise this beloved continent as home to all of us.

As Professor Jonathan Jansen has said, "The overwhelming majority of South Africans believe in a middle path somewhere between reconciliation and social justice."

We refuse to let our pride in being South African be hijacked by radicals.

We call on everyone to stand together and be reminded of how far we have come and how we all deserve to live in Madiba's vision.

I Angel Jones is the CEO and founder of Homecoming Revolution, an organisation set up to facilitate and encourage skilled professionals working overseas to return to South Africa and other countries on the **continent**.

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**Cape Argus (South Africa)**

**April 18, 2015 Saturday**

**E1 Edition**



## How to turn this tide of hatred; A public dialogue on xenophobia is being urged by a world authority

BYLINE: ZENZILE KHOISAN

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 943 words

OVER the past week South Africa has witnessed horrific violence in which large groups of people in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and elsewhere have perpetrated disturbing acts of brutality, theft and vandalism, mainly at people from other parts of Africa.

As we come to grips with the scope and gruesome intensity of these events, many are seeking answers about the origins of the phenomenon, and the factors driving it.

This orgy of violence and destruction has drawn widespread condemnation, and this week Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah, one of Africa's most respected thinkers, was searing and clinical in assessing the triggers for the events that have claimed several lives and displaced thousands.

He singled out Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini as one of the primary progenitors. His speech, hours before the violence erupted in KwaZulu-Natal, labelled "foreigners" as the cause of the problems people were undergoing.

"It is distressingly shameful and unfortunate that the King of the Zulus has lent his words to xenophobia, the consequences of which have been bitterness and hatred, and this should be

a lesson to all leaders to watch what they say and do."

The King has since denied making the comments, saying he was misquoted. Prah, an international authority on xenophobia, is the founder of the Centre for the Advanced Study of African Society (Casas), a think-tank dedicated to research of critical developments in Africa and the Diaspora.

He noted the haunting spectre of illegality that has brought the violence into the country's commercial centres, and turned South Africa's largest cities into war zones, and called for rigorous law enforcement to "stem the tide of mayhem and pandemonium".

He said that rather than a knee-jerk reaction, the South African government should urgently create "a dialogue of influential people to bring back sanity and calm". Prah was also unequivocal in his assessment of the role played by the South African authorities, including the police and military, along with the role played by nefarious elements within foreigner communities in "exacerbating the crisis".

In this respect, he observed that the "authorities have failed in their job of curbing illegal migration, which is unacceptable anywhere in the world". This unregulated migration, he said, had also brought in many criminal elements, who he believes are at the forefront of a scourge of illegal activities such as prostitution and drugs.

A further observation was that the authorities, by failing to enforce regulations, so drawing the ire of locals, had allowed certain elements in the foreigner communities to take over key areas such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg, Bellville, and markets in public spaces, provoking South African citizens.



The intellectual, who has been at the forefront of analysing racism in the global African experience, believes there can be no sustainable solution unless people properly understood and worked proactively to counter the threats posed by xenophobia.

He provided guidance to understanding this phenomenon in a paper, *Xenophobia amongst Africans*, presented in Durban 14 years ago at the World Conference against Racism.

In Prah's assessment, the general use of the word xenophobia describes "a range of antagonistic attitudes and reactions to foreigners or outsiders in a given community".

In certain periods or situations, he argues, these reactions "are mild expressions of rejection and disapproval".

However, as is evident in the present crisis spreading across South Africa, "these reactions are spread with seething rancour, hatred and violence which bear some of the crudest and most despicable features of human nature".

He went on to explain that this demonstration of xenophobia, as the direct opposite of African solidarity and unity, "continues to dog and undermine South African society".

Prah said it invariably occurred "when social and economic conditions become difficult, (and) the ideology of xenophobia becomes the rationale of right-wing elements explaining why there is difficulty".

He went on to explain that South Africa was the most economically advanced and technologically endowed country on the African continent, yet it was also the most unequal country, with the largest number of shantytowns.

"South Africa has the most depressing experiential conditions in Africa, still organised along apartheid colour lines, and this has not been systematically addressed."

In this respect the South African government has not dealt with the primary problems underpinning the instability of the society.

"We have not been able to relieve the pressure that has given rise to the frustration, and this should be a wake-up call to deal with these problems, so people don't attack their neighbours."

He also said it was incorrect to single South Africa out for xenophobia, as it had occurred and continued to occur elsewhere on the continent and in other parts of the world.

As examples he cited the Aliens Compliance Act, under the Busia administration in 1969, when Ghana expelled thousands of Nigerians and other West Africans, many of whom had been born there.

Another example was in Nigeria in 1983, during a slump in the oil market, when Nigeria expelled millions of West Africans including 1.5 million Ghanaians, using alien restrictive legislation.

In Prah's view, xenophobia could not be easily confronted, and needed to be studied historically and scientifically.

Prah suggested, "there must be urgent action initiated by the South African government, which will be a public dialogue, so all understand the need to return to sanity and calm, stop the carnage and deal with the root causes - poverty and people's conditions".

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Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

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E1 **Edition**

## Cape Town's foreigners hoping violence doesn't **spread**

**BYLINE:** SIYABONGA **KALIPA**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **5**

**LENGTH:** 494 **words**

FOREIGNERS living in Cape Town are holding their collective breath, hoping against hope that the **xenophobic attacks** in KwaZulu-Natal and Johannesburg **will not spread** to the Western **Cape**.

Most are business owners, who operate everything from hair salons and cellphone shops, to clothing and DVD stores, from containers, shacks and caravans, which they say means they're especially vulnerable to attack.

When xenophobia last flared in Cape Town in 2008, Du Noon was the flashpoint.

This week Nigerian Oscar Ikem, who runs a **cellphone shop** there, said he'd come to South Africa because it was a peaceful country where no wars were being waged.

"I left Nigeria and came here because South Africa has the best constitution in the world," he said.

Of **the xenophobia** playing out in other parts of the country, Ikem said he was really frightened that it could spread here.

"I called my brother who lives in Durban to find out if he was okay, and he told me they are indoors and that their freedom of movement is restricted because they fear for their lives

"We also don't know when to expect **attacks** on us here. It's like a time bomb; we're sitting and waiting for something to happen," he said.

Edmore Mare, from Zimbabwe, who sells CDs and DVDs, said **foreigners from all countries** were now living in fear in **South Africa**.

"South Africa is the only country on the continent that picks on other Africans. Whatever problems they have can't be solved by fighting. We all know what happened in 2008 and we are **scared it will happen again**," he said.

In Khayelitsha, although local and foreign businesses were operating as usual side by side this week, the foreigners said the **xenophobia** had cast a pall of fear over them all.

**Malawian hairdresser Edith Samson** said: "I'm really scared by what I see happening in Durban, especially because I have two children."

Samson, who came to South Africa only last year, said it was her living conditions that had forced her move.

"We are very poor back home which is the reason I came to South Africa, to look for a better life for my children," she said.

**Somali shopowner Hassan Abdi**, whose business operates from behind burglar bars, shrugged his shoulders when asked what South Africans would do if they found themselves similarly attacked in other countries.

"They should put themselves in our shoes. What if it was them? What they are doing is not right. We are all Africans," said Abdi.

He had suffered through the xenophobia of 2008, and if it happened again, he would "run for my life".

Some of the foreigners are married to South African women and have children with them.

Angry South African Sindiswa Sibeko Obieto, who is married to a Nigerian man, said the xenophobic attacks were the acts of criminals.

"They are crooks who have nothing better to do with their lives but sponge off other people who work hard for their money," she said.

She asked why, if locals could gang up against **immigrants**, they couldn't march to Parliament and demand **jobs**.

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Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

**April** 18, 2015 **Saturday**

E1 **Edition**

## SA and ambassadors unite against violence

**BYLINE:** NTANDO MAKHUBU

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 4

**LENGTH:** 263 words

THE South African government and the 53 African heads of missions based in the country yesterday agreed to work together to wipe out violence against foreign nationals once and for all, saying they had defeated colonialism and apartheid together, and could do it again.

The ambassadors and high commissioners talked about the pain they felt at the continued brutal attacks on immigrants from their countries, and said the actions could attract negative reaction against South Africans and their presence in other countries.

"Let the spirit of ubuntu prevail. It must not only be a slogan or something heard in speeches and discussion, but something to guide and lead us," Congolese ambassador Bene M'poko said.

Ubuntu had to be a real-life situation. "Xenophobia cannot be allowed to continue or African unity will suffer," he said.

M'poko said the xenophobic attacks had become more violent over the years, flaring up in 2007, 2008, last year, and again now.

The diplomats had been invited to a briefing on the spate of attacks on foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal and parts of Joburg by International Relations Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane.

She said they had roped in local and international agencies in their effort to stop the violence and bring calm to affected communities, among these the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Children's Fund, the Centre for Immigration, NGOs and community structures.

"Shelters have been put up and water, sanitation and other basic amenities provided," she said. Security forces had been mobilised, and a 24-hour call centre established.

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## E1 Edition

## Foreigners bear brunt of self-loathing

SECTION: Pg. 20

LENGTH: 768 words

ON THURSDAY evening, a man named Witness Masela took a break from hunting foreigners in the township of Actonville, on Gauteng's East Rand, to tell The Times that **President Jacob Zuma** would be advised to let the mob continue driving **immigrants** from their homes and stealing their possessions.

"Does he feed us?" Masela asked. "Does he give us jobs? Does he love us like he loves his amakwerekwere (cockroaches, or foreigners)? No, he does not. He treats us worse than foreigners. We pay our taxes, but have no jobs. These foreigners don't pay taxes, but they have jobs. Zuma mustn't come to us and speak nice. He must go to **hell**."

Not much is known of Masela or his circumstances, but it is difficult to imagine anyone, let alone the president, loving him. Masela, if anything, is representative of a country that, more than two decades after apartheid's fall, remains awash in self-loathing and in dire need of therapy.

The authorities' response to the attacks has been shameful. Remember **Small Business Development Minister Lindiwe Zulu's** mumbo-jumbo that foreign shopkeepers could not expect to co-exist peacefully with their local township counterparts unless they shared their trade secrets? That was in January, when the government was "assembling a task team to

address violence and tension between local and foreign business owners". What has happened since then?

Quite a lot, it would seem - and all of it bad. There's been a rash of denialist idiocy. Sometimes it was evident in the euphemisms. ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe, in particular, has suggested we should not speak of xenophobia, but afrophobia.

But mostly it was the rubbish excuses. Even when he was doling out what some have labelled his strongest condemnation of the "shocking and unacceptable" attacks, the president leavened his remarks by suggesting the government was sympathetic to issues raised by "affected" citizens.

"These include complaints about illegal and undocumented **immigrants** in the country, the increase in the number of shops or small businesses that have been taken over by foreign nationals and also perceptions that foreign nationals commit or perpetrate crime," Zuma said on Thursday.

On top of this came more denialist pap. "We reiterate our view that South Africans are generally not xenophobic. If they were, we would not have such a high number of foreign nationals who have been successfully integrated into our communities all over our country."

One such foreign national, you could say, is the Cameroon-born historian and political scientist Achille Mbembe. This week he commented on the "devastating" draconian anti-immigration measures introduced in recent months.

"A few weeks ago, I attended a meeting of 'foreign' staff at Wits University," he wrote. "Horrific stories after horrific stories. Work permits not renewed. Visas refused to family

members. Children in limbo in schools. A Kafkaian situation that extends to 'foreign' students who entered the country legally, had their visas renewed all this time, but who now find themselves... unable to register, and unable to access the money they are entitled to and that had been allocated to them by (education) foundations. Through its new anti-immigration measures, the government is busy turning previously legal migrants into illegal ones."

Mbembe also touched on something more sinister - the emergence among poor blacks and sections of the middle classes of what he termed "national-chauvinism". It was particularly rabid.

"National-chauvinism is rearing its ugly head in almost every sector of the South African society," he said. "The thing with national-chauvinism is that it is in permanent need of scapegoats. It starts with those who are not our kin. But very quickly, it turns fratricidal. It does not stop with 'these foreigners'. It is in its DNA to end up turning on to itself in a dramatic gesture of inversion."

Put another way, wherever there is talk of "nation-building" and "ubuntu", there is national-chauvinism. The Zulu king, Illwill Zwelithini, you will recall, was at a "moral regeneration" rally

when he prattled away about foreigners packing their bags and seemingly put into motion the horrific events of the past weeks.

It is laudable that Tim Flack, an official with the SA National Defence Force Union, has, in his personal capacity, approached the Human Rights Commission and laid a hate speech charge against Zwelithini. Flack has further threatened to take the matter to the Equality Court should the HRC not act against the royal parasite.

Here at the Mahogany Ridge we're watching this space with considerable interest.

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**Daily  
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Daily Dispatch (South Africa)

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saturday dispatch Edition

## Kings to be equal

### SECTION: OPINION & EDITORIAL

LENGTH: 1494 words

Against homophobia, xenophobia and Afrophobia

THE repatriation from exile and reburial of the remains of the fallen combatants on home soil is a living testimony against Homophobia, Xenophobia and Afrophobia.

On Saturday 11 April 2015 the repatriated mortal remains of uMkhonto we Sizwe combatant Thabang Victor Bookholane (Henley) were reburied on home soil at the Heroes Acre, Zwile cemetery in Port Elizabeth. The repatriation of his mortal remains and those of his other comrades and the rest of the combatants who fell outside the borders of the motherland and were buried in dignity there is the reason why all those who pay tribute to their selfless struggle and personal sacrifices ought to speak and act against all forms and expressions of homophobia, xenophobia and Afrophobia which may be directed against anybody residing within the borders of South Africa. Homophobia is a compound noun constituted of homo (same) + phobia (fear) and means prejudice against someone with whom you share something in common, for an example in the case of the repatriation and reburial of the mortal remains of the combatants one may refer to the feud among family members that the MEC referred to.

Xenophobia on the other hand is comprised of xeno (stranger, foreigner) + phobia and means prejudice against anybody classified as "strange", "foreign", "alien". Afrophobia is prejudice directed against nationals of other

African countries. These forms of phobia may also find expression through racism, ethnicity and tribalism amongst citizens of the same country who are diversely classified and identify themselves. The voices of Thabang and his comrades continue to speak loud and fight against homophobia, xenophobia and Afrophobia albeit from their graves also in the country of their birth.

#### Against homophobia

Thabang and his comrades loved their country, compatriots and fellow Africans hence their pursuit of selfless struggle and personal sacrifice. An honor to their legacy is to rise above family feuds. They were assassinated by those who were supposed to be their compatriots (albeit classified racially diverse) at around 1 am on the early morning of 30 January 1981 at three houses where they resided at Matola in Mozambique. The Matola raid was the brain child of Jacques Buchner from the South African Police (SAP) and Major Steijn from the South African Defence Force (SADF) and was executed by special forces 5 Recce which was based in Phalaborwa. The assassination operation was confirmed by General Constand Viljoen, Chief of SADF.

#### Against xenophobia and Afrophobia

Thabang and the liberation struggle combatants and exiles in general were integrated with their hosts and the people of Mozambique in life and in death. They were not housed in refugee and concentration camps. The exhumation, repatriation and reburial of his mortal remains take place on the 34th anniversary of their assassination. Their Mozambican hosts buried them in Lhanguene cemetery reserved and dedicated for the memory of their own heroes and did neither segregate nor discriminate against them. They were not buried in a field that was bought with blood money to bury xenos (Matthew 27:7). The heroes of the South African liberation struggle were treated equally as the heroes of their host



countries. After their assassination, the Mozambican hosts of the fallen combatants strengthened their encouragement and support for the liberation struggle. After the exhumation, the graves in which they were laid to rest at the time of their passing on continue to be marked by tombstones carrying their names as a memory of the selfless struggle and personal sacrifice against xenophobia and Afrophobia. As the saying goes, unlike us the living, when the departed speak they do neither lie nor claim easy victories for they have paid the ultimate price. May the memory of their selfless struggle and personal sacrifice serve as a bridge between their families, countrymen and fellow Africans. A fitting tribute to their memory is for us to hearken to their voice by picking up uMkhonto against homophobia, xenophobia and Afrophobia. - Lehlohonolo Bookholane, University of Fort Hare

Lehlohonolo Bookholane

MY gripe with foreigners is the way they treat our trading spaces. They are turning our small towns into cramped slum areas. The nice corner shop has now been sub divided into four depressing garage door shops ,all super markets, untidy signage.

We were helped in and by these countries pre 1994 but we did not impose our values and cultures on them.

Where are the town bosses who are supposed to make sure that our environment is kept clean and healthy. The condition of our towns ,and some cities even ,is enough to give one a heart attack. Are we going forward or backwards?

And they do look down upon black South Africans and treat us with disrespect. A shouted Yes? is not the way to welcome a customer. Who told them that we need deafening music to see their wares? They are here to make money but they should not be allowed to do so at the expense of our progress.

These are the concerns people have and are not given a space to air. They are simmering below the surface and are bound to erupt one day.

I like what Mr Mantashe is saying about their entry into this country and communities being controlled makes a lot of sense. - N Jakuja, Peddie

ruthjakuja

ruthjakuja

All Kings are equal in a Democratic South Africa

ALL Kings must be equal before a Democratic South Africa.

If it was King Zwelibanzi who said the words that are alleged to be said by King Zwelithini that led to the merciless killing and beating of foreign nationals, everybody who had insulted him to no stopping. It must be said without fear of contradiction that whatever King Zwelithini said was irresponsible, unwarranted and had undermined our Republic and put this country in disrepute. There is lot of people accepting wrong things in this country if those things are said by people who are respected irrespective of their implications. People of KZN had heard their King very well and they are acting upon his wishes. It must be made clear that King Zwelithini is not a South African Republic King like British Monarch but a King of a certain Nation which is called Zulu Nation. Not every South African is a Zulu, so he must not just issue irresponsible instructions on behalf of the Republic.

Killing of any person is not acceptable, what is he thinking of the South Africans outside the country like players who are playing abroad, business people abroad, students, Ambassadors. This needs a government the is able to reprimand irresponsible people like Goodwell Zwelithini, and speak out on their wrong actions. KwaZulu Natal is not a country



but a Province within a Republic and therefore it is wrong for anyone to behave as if there are still apartheid provinces of Bantustan in our country. Existence of monarch in a democratic South Africa needs to be revisited before the plunge the country into a war with its neighbours.

King Zwelithini had undermined our Constitution and the President of the Republic by instigating violence direct or indirectly in our country. Killing of even one person with or without any reason will never be acceptable where there is a state and law. Those entrusted to govern the country should make the King to account. There is no self-respecting nation that can allow one individual to plunge it into a serious violence and killing of people. This does not need any commission but criminal investigation against the King and his people. The King is the perpetrator in this situation. Feudalism has always been an oppressive

system against humanity. - P Mbewu, on my capacity as a concerned South African Citizen

Phendule Mbewu

KWAZULU-NATAL:King Goodwill Zwelithini and President Jacob **Zuma**

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**Zulu king urged to take **stand****

**SECTION:** **CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE**

**LENGTH:** 165 **words**

THE South African Human Rights Commission wants King Goodwill Zwelithini to confirm that xenophobic attacks are "not being undertaken in his name or by his **direction**".

Yesterday, the HRC said it had noted comments by the Zulu monarch disassociating himself from the actions of people involved in attacks against **foreign nationals**.

The commission would investigate "alleged comments" - one of which related to charges of hate speech laid against Zwelithini by Tim Flack spokesman for the SA National Defence Force Union this week.

Flack said: "The king needs to account and be charged for inciting this violence." Speaking in Pongola last month Zwelithini called **foreigners** "lice" and said: "We ask **that immigrants** take their bags and go where they come from."

Yesterday the HRC also expressed regret that the government had not responded to a report by the commission in 2009 on xenophobic

attacks, which, among others, emphasised **the need for heightened protection of foreign nationals**.

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## **Zimbabwe to evacuate citizens from SA - **envoy****

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE**

**LENGTH:** 149 **words**

**ZIMBABWE** will evacuate nationals **caught in anti-foreigner violence** that has left six people **dead in South Africa**, the country's ambassador told the media **yesterday**.

Isaac Moyo said Harare would tomorrow begin the repatriation of about 1000 Zimbabwean citizens affected by attacks in Durban. "Identification and processing of repatriation documents has...been done," he told Zimbabwe's state-owned Chronicle newspaper.

There are about 250000 Zimbabweans in South Africa, the biggest community of foreigners in the country.

Yesterday, over 100 people marched to the South African embassy in Harare, calling for an end to the violence which started in Durban three weeks ago, after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini reportedly said foreigners should leave the country. He has claimed he was misinterpreted.

Mozambique and Malawi have also announced they would help their citizens return home. - AFP

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The Independent on Saturday (South Africa)

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E1 Edition

**We live here legally, say foreigners**

**SECTION:** Pg. 7

**LENGTH:** 1227 words

Policemen and Enforce Security officials crowd the entrance of a city-owned property at the end

of a quiet road in Greenwood Park's residential area.

With clipboards and notebooks, these uniformed men try to record the comings and goings of donors, community members and journalists.

Entering through the rusted mesh fencing - the only barricade between hundreds of frightened men, women and children and the outside world - one finds a driveway that leads up to a dark building.

The inside of the building overflows with rows of thin mattresses, rolled-up blankets and bags filled with personal belongings, which are sprawled across the patio outside.

Three rundown tennis courts have washing draped over the fences. A two-year-old girl in a pink jacket laughs to herself as she crawls barefoot on the cold and dusty **court**.

Quiet and unsure of what the day will bring, people begin their daily struggle.

These are the kinds of scenes one can expect to find at the site of the Greenwood Park **refugee** camp in Durban that has, for more than two weeks, been home to **500 attacked and displaced foreigners**.

Oshwald, a Mozambican man from Quarry Heights near Avoca who was attacked in his home on Wednesday night, stood overlooking the tennis courts with his bandaged head and hands. Barefoot and clad in a white blood-stained shirt, his friend described Oshwald's attack.

"It was around midnight and he was sleeping. He locked the house so that he could get a head start if he needed to run. But the attackers surrounded the house and somebody screamed 'stop him!' They pulled him out of his house on to the street and beat him."

Oshwald's friend, who did not want to reveal his name, said Oshwald ran away and called for help. Fortunately the police were there, and rescued him.

Linda and Belinda are also from Mozambique, and came to South Africa for job opportunities 10 years and two years ago respectively. Linda has a 9-year-old boy in Grade 3 at Greenwood Primary School and a 16-year-old son who she has not seen since arriving at the camp.

"I don't know if my baby is going to be able to go back to school. I have no money. I don't know what is going to happen now."

Edgard, a Congolese man who has made a living as a project manager for a company that builds RDP housing, has been staying in the **refugee** camp for 11 days. He was also described by the policeman at the camp's entrance as "the person who represents the foreigners".

Edgard begins his story by saying the xenophobic attacks started when Ethiopians' shops in the townships were being set alight.

"Some were still inside. But I managed to run away in time because my landlord got word that people were coming to burn his house. So I left.

"I am angry that I had to pick up and leave my home just to be safe."

Edgard said he condemned those who were against xenophobic attacks but remained quiet: "I am angry with the people of this country who are sympathetic towards us, but will not do anything about it. And the ones who are talking about it on social media are the very same ones oppressing us and who are tired of us.

"Everything I have worked for in the past 10 years was left in my house. They broke the door and vandalised my things. And now I have nothing and they want me to go back to a country I haven't entered for 10 years."

As Edgar explains his dire predicament, women are walking around in luminous orange vests with "Immigration" plastered on the front.

They are said to be telling foreigners they are going to be deported. "How must I return to a country after 10 years empty-handed?" asked Edgar.

Attempts to speak to these "Immigration" people were rebuffed and our authority to be there was questioned.

The immigration officials sit at a desk on the patio talking to the foreigners. What Edgar cannot understand is how he, a man who went through the right channels to live and work in

South Africa, is now being told he may be deported.

"We have an official document from Home Affairs called a **refugee ID**." Edgard takes out a red ID book and opens it up to show his personal details in the document, as well as a South African passport for **refugees**. "We renew this every four years. So based on what grounds of law are they going to deport people?"

Edgard stated that since his arrival at the **refugee** camp, he has yet to see or hear from any kind of organisation that deals with **refugees**.

"We have not once seen the Human Rights High Commission for **Refugees**. The only people we see are from Home Affairs and Immigration, and they tell us that they want to deport us," he explained.

Edgard mentioned a government official from disaster management, who tells the **refugees** they are getting free meals and accommodation and because of this, they should be going out of the camp and coming back late at night.

Edgard, however, asked them: "Is that really what you should be focusing on? Do you really think we want to be here?"

Edgard sums up his point of view: "This isn't a **refugee** camp. This is just a place where they've decided to keep us."

Oshwald, Edgard, Linda and Belinda spoke about the same problem they each face inside the camp: **the lack of action taken by the South African and international authorities** to resolve the problem of xenophobic attacks.

David, a Mozambican man who lived in **Springfield Park with friends**, said Thursday was his 16th day in the **refugee** camp and, most painfully, his 16th day away from his wife and children.

"My wife is in Pietermaritzburg with my children. I know they are safe there because they are South African," he said.

Every day the amount of food becomes less and space becomes tighter for those seeking refuge, as **attacked and displaced foreigners flock to the camp for protection**. "Today (Thursday) we received two more Malawians," said David, "**We eat rice, beans, bread and tea, but two pots for 500 people** are not enough. So we are cooking from 7pm to midnight just so that people can eat that day."

David's daily routine is about "helping the people and organising the food", while recovering from the restless nights of having to sleep outside on damp, overgrown grass.

Other than acting as washing lines and recreation space, the property's tennis courts have to serve as places of rest.

"Sometimes we have to sleep in the bathroom or on the tennis courts because there are not enough mattresses," explained David and his friend Petros, also from Mozambique.

"It has not rained yet since I've been here. I don't know what's going to happen when it rains."

**Mothers and fathers, while the fear of possible death and the confusion of being disenfranchised are etched on their tired faces, entertain children who, thankfully, are unaware of what's going on. Children laugh and parents find joy in their reactions.**

**A few metres away, a mother lies on her mattress cuddling her newborn. Young men clothed in blood-stained T-shirts, slip-slops and beanies, stroll through the masses of mattresses nursing what is currently the best part of their day: a polystyrene cup of hot tea.**

They join friends who are playing card games, while some join three young men who have set up a television set. They look intently at the screen, almost as if they are back in the comfort

of their own homes. Young Somalis have taken to selling apples and oranges.

The little girl in the pink jacket plays and giggles on.

I None of the **refugees** we spoke to wanted to give their **surnames**

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The Independent on Saturday (South **Africa**)

**April 18, 2015**

**E1 Edition**

## **For geographer it's a long walk by degrees**

**BYLINE:** Own **Correspondent**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **1**

**LENGTH:** 274 **words**

An Eritrean man who walked 4 000km from his home country so that he could study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has graduated with a Master's degree in **geography**.

Not even the danger of being robbed at the various borders|he crossed deterred Yibrah |Ghebreyohannes.

"I crossed more than five countries and travelled for more than 4 000km on foot just to secure an education in South Africa, because I believe education is the only weapon that helps us," he said.

"When I applied for asylum, |the government of South Africa granted me **refugee** status that allowed me to work and study.

"Despite the challenges, I decided to pursue my studies. I approached UKZN and in 2011 enrolled for an honours degree, and finished it in 2012."

Ghebreyohannes fled the country of his birth in 2010 because of the war with Ethiopia.

He had been a high school geography teacher in Eritrea, and later taught the subject at college.

"Since my childhood, my favourite subject has been geography. To me, geography is the

mother of all subjects. Indeed, it is the foundation of modern science."

His thesis was titled "Displacement and Adjustment: Ethiopian Environmental **Migrants** in Durban, South Africa".

"People migrate or are forced to move for many reasons. However, global climate change is becoming one of the main issues threatening human livelihood," he said.

"The UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for **Refugees**) and almost all countries, do not recognise **migrants** displaced by environmental change. So my aim was to raise this issue, so that the international community reconsiders the old **refugee** definition."

Ghebreyohannes thanked his supervisor, Professor Brij **Maharaj**.

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The Independent on Saturday (South **Africa**)

**April 18, 2015**

**E1 Edition**

**Durbanites show that they care**

**BYLINE:** Arthi **Sanpath**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **1**

**LENGTH:** 793 **words**

DURBANITES opened their hearts this week in an outpouring of goodwill and support for the displaced foreigners who have been forced to take refuge in camps across the city.

As national, provincial and local authorities grapple with the ongoing **attacks** against **foreigners** that started in Isipingo more than two weeks ago, Durbanites have wasted no time in coming to the aid of children, women and men who have been forced out of the communities they lived in.



While foreigners have seen the ugly face of Durban as mobs have chased them out of their homes and shops, other Durbanites have spontaneously collected food, clothing, bedding, toiletries and other essentials. These Samaritans range from private individuals to NGOs.

Durbanites have made impassioned pleas to family, friends and colleagues via social media.

Local restaurateur Andrew Draper, who owns Harvey's restaurant in uMhlanga, wrote on his Facebook page earlier this week: "I don't pray, but tonight my thoughts are with scared men, women, children and families who escaped the brutalities and hardships of their own countries to seek refuge in a civilised land of opportunities and hope."

"Tonight they find themselves, huddled in halls, roads, churches and the streets, unwashed and without any of their possessions. I will be contacting churches and the Red Cross to see how I and Harvey's can assist."

"Let these people know that we care, that we value them, and that we believe that they can contribute towards building an incredible country, a country that they seem to believe in more than we do. And that their hope can become our hope. Don't give up your humanity - it's the only thing that is truly you."

Draper co-ordinated collections from the public at his restaurant. He had an incredible response.

"People have been fantastic, calling and messaging. We managed to fill an entire truckload with goods. Durbanites have shown they care."

Yesterday he described how one woman dropped off a load of food and hand-knitted beanies.

He urged people to spend the same amount of money they would on a dinner party on buying groceries for the foreigners.

eMdloti resident Tanah Dankert read of the attacks, felt there was too much negative energy, and decided to do something about it.

"I posted on my Facebook page that I would donate items, and people started contacting me saying they wanted to assist."

"Some people wanted to give money, and I raised R2 500. We organised collection points as well. People responded positively."

She bought groceries and other items families would need.

Durbanite Netesh Dukanti said on Facebook: "I will be using some of my savings to provide food for those families affected by xenophobia in Chatsworth."

"If you would like to join me, let me know. You can either make some food or rally up items from your loved ones."

iZandla Zothando (Hands of Compassion), a community outreach programme at the Durban branch of Covenant Fellowship Church International, collected blankets and groceries.

"We are calling on the public who would like to support this initiative to drop off items such as water, nappies, sanitary towels, clothing, blankets, mattresses, canned food, toothpaste, toothbrushes, baby clothes, and plates and cups at the Olive Convention Centre (ice rink) in North Beach tomorrow at 8am," said Nomfanelo Dlomo, a spokeswoman for the church.

These initiatives have proved successful, with many of the items being sent to the Red Cross in Durban North, which has been assisting the foreigners.

"The response from Durbanites has been incredible. There has been an outpouring of support from people wanting to donate both



goods and their time," said the organisation's chief executive, Derick Naidoo.

Kelly Matthews of Grace Family Church had dropped off clothing, towels and food on behalf of the congregation.

"We put up lists on our social media pages of things that were required, and used our church as a drop-off point. We have come to drop everything off at the Red Cross," she said.

Naidoo said Red Cross volunteers were dedicating their time at the camps, and were seeing to the needs of almost 5 000 people.

"Since the attacks started, we have been providing warm food, which is being prepared on gas stoves we have set up at the sites.

"The items that have been donated have been passed on to the foreigners, and these include hygiene packs. We have also set up a telephone so that people can call their relatives to tell them how they are doing," he said.

Gift of the Givers's Imtiaz Sooliman said they had been providing extensive assistance at the Isipingo and Chatsworth refugee centres.

Another relief organisation, City Hope Disaster Relief, from the City Hill Church, has distributed about 250 "Hope" kits, which include food, blankets and toiletries.

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Pretoria News Weekend (South Africa)

April 18, 2015 Saturday

E1 Edition

**Foreign heads join SA in pledge to wipe out violence**

**BYLINE:** NTANDO MAKHUBU

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 3

**LENGTH:** 483 words

THE SOUTH African Government and the 53 African Heads of Missions based in the country

yesterday agreed to work together to wipe out the violence against foreign nationals once and for all, saying they had defeated colonialism and apartheid together and could do it again.

The ambassadors and high commissioners talked about the pain they felt at the continued brutal attacks on immigrants from their countries, and said the actions could attract negative reaction against South Africans and their presence in other countries.

"Let the spirit of Ubuntu prevail, it must not only be a slogan or something heard in speeches and discussion, but something to guide and lead us," Congolese ambassador and dean of ambassadors Bene M'poko said, adding that Ubuntu had to be a real-life situation, one that people experienced.

"Xenophobia cannot be allowed to continue or African unity will suffer," he said.

M'poko said the xenophobic attacks had become more violent over the years, having flared up in 2007, 2008, last year and now.

The foreign diplomats were at a briefing on the spate of attacks on foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal and parts of Joburg held by Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, who apologised for the violence and said the meeting would reflect on the sad events of the past few weeks.

She said: "We as South Africa made a promise to ourselves and the rest of Africa and the world to remain committed to the values of our democracy and the achievements of equality, human rights and freedom.

"We feel a deep sense of shame, pain and regret. We humble ourselves and express heartfelt apologies for this unwarranted development," she said.

The attacks were a criminal offence that the law would act against.

Nkoana-Mashabane said they had roped in local and international agencies in their effort to stop the violence and bring calm to affected communities, among them the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Children's Fund, the Centre for Immigration, non-governmental organisations and community structures.

"Shelters have been put up and water, sanitation and other basic amenities provided," she said.

Security forces had also been mobilised and a 24-hour call centre established.

"Re-integration has begun and community engagements on how best to work together are being held," she said.

Communication between the country and embassies and high commissions across the continent would be relied on for updates on locals living in those countries, she said..

"They will convey the message that we hope for no reaction to this," she added.

The relationships built during times of strife could not be undermined by the events of one day, she said.

I Minister of Human Settlements and Chancellor of Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT), Lindiwe Sisulu, used a graduation service to call on student body leadership to stand firm against xenophobic violence.

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All Rights **Reserve**The Star (South **Africa**)**April 18, 2015 Saturday****E2 Edition**

**Fear and loathing** on Jozi's streets  
Rainbow nation's statistics of  
shame;

**Xenophobic thugs** bring City of  
Gold to its **knees**

BYLINE: Sheree **Bega**SECTION: NEWS; Pg. **4**LENGTH: 403 **words**

Ebrahim Mohamed Ali spent this week  
comforting **refugees** fleeing **violence** in  
KwaZulu-Natal and parts of Joburg, **seeking**  
**refuge** at his Mayfair coffee shop.

But he battles to face his own painful memories  
of South Africa's deadly 2008 **xenophobic**  
**attacks**. That's when a gang of locals stormed

his panelbeating workshop, stripped it, and  
murdered his **brother**.

"They took everything from me and killed my  
brother because he was a **Somali national**."

Now again, Ali feels hopeless amid the horrific  
resurgence of attacks.

"All of us, **we are scared**. This is a big problem,  
but the government does nothing. Nobody  
responds."

No one was arrested for his brother's murder.

In the years since 2008, **xenophobic violence**  
has claimed many more lives, according to  
Jean-Pierre Misago, a researcher at Wits  
University's African Centre for Migration and  
Society.

Misago told the Saturday Star that because  
perpetrators of the 2008 attacks were never  
prosecuted, those involved in the continuing  
attacks "have a licence".

"They know they can get away with it. What is  
happening now is not a surprise. Since 2008,  
there have been no mechanisms to put in place  
to prevent it. We only hear political

pronouncements that are not accompanied by concrete measures.

"The perpetrators are not held accountable and a culture of impunity develops. We have places where the violence has happened three, four or five times and no one in is held accountable. The violence never stopped. The numbers suggest that the 62 people who died in 2008 does not compare to all the people who have died every year since."

Misago noted that since the dawn of democracy, tens of thousands of people had been harassed, attacked or killed just because of their status as "outsiders" or foreign nationals.

While the May 2008 attacks and violence targeted almost all foreign nationals and South Africans deemed "outsiders", targets this time appear to be Somali, Ethiopian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani nationals, operating small businesses in townships and informal settlements across the country, he said.

Between mid-2009 and late 2010 - 20 deaths, 40 serious injuries, 200 foreign shops looted, 4 000 people displaced.

2011 - 120 foreign nationals killed - five burnt alive, 100 seriously injured, 1 000 displaced, 120 shops closed.

2012 - 140 deaths, 250 serious injuries.

2013 - An average of three major violent attacks recorded every week.

Source: Jean Pierre Misango, Wits

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**WeekendPost**

WeekendPost (South Africa)

April 18, 2015

**SA's battle to fight xenophobia demon**

**LENGTH:** 717 words

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

Battle to fight SA's xenophobia

SOUTH Africa sought diplomatic support from countries across the continent yesterday to defeat the "demon" of anti-immigrant violence in which at least four people have been killed over the past fortnight.

Foreign nationals have complained that the South African police are failing to protect them, raising the prospect of a row between Pretoria and its neighbours, as well as stirring hostility to South Africans working abroad.

The United Nations also expressed concern at the latest round of xenophobic attacks, saying the violence had displaced thousands.

"In South Africa, xenophobic attacks over the last three weeks have displaced over 5000 foreign nationals, including refugees and asylum seekers" the UN High Commission for Refugees said, adding it was "extremely concerned".

"We would like to underscore that those affected in these xenophobic attacks are refugees and asylum seekers who were forced to leave their countries due to war and persecution," it said.

The unrest, which began in Durban, has spread to Johannesburg, where police fired rubber bullets and a stun grenade yesterday to end a stand-off between South Africans and an immigrant vigilante group armed with pangas.

"We believe that working together we can defeat this demon," South African Foreign Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane said after meeting African diplomats in Pretoria. "We all have to nip this in the bud."

However, the Malawian government has hired buses to repatriate 500 of its nationals, Information Minister Kondwani Nankhumwa said yesterday.

He urged South Africa to provide greater protection for immigrants, echoing demands from China and the African Union.

Zimbabwe will also evacuate its nationals, the country's ambassador to South Africa said yesterday.

Isaac Moyo said Harare would begin the repatriation tomorrow of about 1000 Zimbabwean citizens affected by the attacks in Durban.

"Identification and processing of repatriation documents has already been done," Moyo said.

There are some 250000 Zimbabweans in South Africa, making them the biggest community of foreign nationals.

Kenya and some other African governments have also offered to evacuate any of their citizens who feel threatened, while people in neighbouring Mozambique temporarily blocked a road leading to the South African frontier yesterday in protest.

And in another move, Sasol is repatriating 340 South Africans working at its projects in Mozambique over fears for their safety after foreign nationals were attacked back home, the synthetic fuel-maker said.

Chadian ambassador Mahamoud Adam Bachir said the Pretoria meeting had helped to alleviate some safety concerns.

"It went better than expected. We were assured of the security of our nationals," he said.

South Africa, with a population of about 50 million, is home to an estimated five million immigrants, from countries including Somalia, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, and from further afield, including China and Pakistan. Many own shops or sell wares as informal hawkers on street corners or in markets.

Periodic outbreaks of antiimmigrant violence have been blamed on high unemployment,

officially around 25%, although economists say in reality much higher, with widespread poverty and glaring income disparities.

The Ressano Garcia border post between South Africa and Mozambique was closed after around 200 Mozambicans barricaded a road approaching the crossing, police said.

Traffic later resumed after police dispersed the protesters.

The foreign ministry of China, a major trade partner of South Africa, said on Thursday Chinese-run shops had been damaged in Johannesburg.

The Chinese consulate lodged a protest with the police and asked that they ensure the safety of Chinese people.

The latest **wave of unrest** began after **Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini** was quoted by media as saying that foreigners should leave South Africa.

He has since said his comments were misinterpreted and has called for calm.

Johannesburg was the centre of anti-foreigner attacks in 2008 that killed more than 60 people.  
- Reuters

DARK DAYS: Early morning sunlight casts long shadows over media personnel, as smoke rises from a burning vehicle following another day of xenophobia-related violence in Johannesburg PHOTOGRAPH: **EPA**

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**WeekendPost**

**WeekendPost (South Africa)**

**April 18, 2015**

**Attacks on fellow Africans cannot be justified**

**BYLINE:** Nwabisa **Makunga**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 561 **words**

WHAT a horrible week it has been.

I found out that a teenage relative had upgraded from bunking classes and drinking at school to dabbling in drugs, on his way to school.

I was livid.

Even more so when he explained his **reasons**.

He predictably claimed that his friends made him do it. That he had no choice but to go along when they got up to no good because, had he not, he would have found himself outside of the "cool circle" and might even be victimised.

Nonsense!

I do not for one minute underestimate the power of peer pressure on young people but, ultimately, we have to stand up and take responsibility for our own actions.

His excuse to blame everyone but himself is exactly the kind of attitude displayed by the criminals who have held our country to ransom, attacking - and killing - foreign nationals in Durban and parts of Gauteng this week.

The two most prominent reasons that often come up from perpetrators of this violence are that foreigners take "our" women and "our" jobs.

Let's look at both of these, starting with the most ridiculous one.

If you blame a foreigner, loot his shop and kill him because a fellow African brother once took "your" woman, then you best believe that her leaving you, probably had little to do with him but more about the reality that you suck at being a decent human being, let alone being the ideal partner to share a life with.

My advice: get over yourself.

The second reason is more complex.

No one can deny that government has dismally failed to grow this economy at a rate that creates jobs and closes the gap between the rich and the poor.

The extent of poverty and inhumane living conditions endured by millions of South Africans is unspeakable.

Government must shoulder its portion of the blame for failing to improve the lives of those who look to it for solutions.

The resentment and anger of many, who are yet to reap the tangible benefits of this freedom, is justified.

Furthermore, **government has poorly managed our borders, allowing thousands of foreign nationals to flock into the country, some of whom commit serious crimes while others run well-organised networks of businesses, whose practices at times make it impossible for locals to compete.**

These are all legitimate gripes which I believe can only be resolved through effective dialogue between the state and all the sectors of business.

However, as serious as they are, they cannot be excuses for the brutality meted out to foreigners.

In fact, many of the hooligans who burn foreigners, hacking and killing them, do so only because of their own thirst for bloodshed.

Given the same opportunities, many of them would simply not put in the hours, blood, sweat and tears that it takes to run a business in these economic times. Yes, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Gwede Mantashe, Lindiwe Zulu and many other leaders have said some pretty dumb things recently, which arguably fuel these acts.



Yes, President Jacob Zuma was too slow to react and when he did, he made the most mundane, prepared speech in parliament - a far cry from when he visibly took charge and quelled a violent war between ANC and IFP supporters in the 1990s.

But we cannot run away from the fact that those who take up arms and attack our fellow-Africans, must be held accountable for their own actions.

They are criminals and must be treated by all of **us** as such.

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**Business Day (South Africa)**

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

**Business Day Edition**

## **We need to revive the principles of ubuntu**

**BYLINE:** AMANDA **GCABASHE**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 1115 **words**

We need to revive the **principles of ubuntu**

Dismissing cultural norms in the new SA is coming back to haunt us, writes

THE resurgence of violent attacks against **our African brothers, sisters and children** is **morally and culturally unacceptable**. Maybe it's happening because we have forgotten who we are and the way our ancestors related to newcomers in their midst.

Perhaps even more than that, **we have forgotten the principles of ubuntu - a pointer to the value of a human life in African culture. Ubuntu as a philosophy states that & umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu& a human is human because of other humans**). It describes the intrinsic value placed on human life, as it is this life that makes us able to identify ourselves as human.

The current design of SA's state welfare system is culturally flawed as the interventions reinforce



a sense of & victimhood& rather than providing structural support for communities to be in charge of their own economic development.

It creates an unsustainable dependency, which is detrimental to the moral fibre of the community. Traditionally, everyone contributed to community development and therefore their own development, according to their own ability.

We have always welcomed travellers into our communities where they have been introduced according to the culture. What is more, strangers were adopted into our communities and became members of the family where they settled.

They would take on the surname of a local family and from then on become members of equal standing in the community, contributing to its development.

My great-great-grandfather on my mother's side is rumoured to be of Portuguese descent. He settled in what was then KwaZulu with the Shange family and became assimilated, as evidenced by him taking on the surname Shange. He took wives and had children all known as Shange.

Mine is not a unique tale - it is actually quite common. Although he did not change surnames, the case of John Dunn is also well known in KwaZulu-Natal.

Recently, I learnt that an enterprising member of the Moloi family has traced the very first person with the name Moloi to settle in southern Africa back to his roots in Ethiopia. Our culture is not against welcoming new people and integrating them.

New people who arrived in our villages in the past followed culturally accepted procedures, which allowed them to be fully integrated into the community. The new arrivals would be taken to the chief or head of the village when they arrived.

Their settlement would be a community affair and not a mystery. In some areas this still happens - new families can only settle after a chief has given permission and there has been a ceremony introducing the newcomers to the rest of the village.

Dismissing the significance and importance of cultural norms in establishing post-apartheid SA is coming back to haunt us. When the negotiations were conducted that led to the & new& dispensation, nothing of our culture and our cultural ways of doing things was taken into consideration because of the continued belief that African culture is backward and cannot teach us anything.

This is not a black/white race issue. Across the spectrum, we've all lost the rationale for the cultural way of doing things and assumed that western models of being will be applicable to us.

GENERATIONS of colonisation and our ignoring of existing cultural norms post-independence have slowly led to us Africans having a limited understanding of our culture and practices that build social cohesion and prosperity.

We have bought into the belief that African culture is just the animal skins and rituals that we perform and have neglected to evaluate our true cultural norms and practices, which supported community development for centuries. We've accepted the history that begins with the advent of colonisation as if African society and societal norms began only then.

The principles that sustained our communities are crying out for their revival in order to bring about a truly united and prosperous country where there is room for everyone who needs it.

Legal or illegal, it is problematic that we persist in referring to fellow Africans as & foreigners& It is problematic that we condemn the attacks and in the same breath add a qualifier by saying &

but...& It is problematic that our government condemns the attacks but adds statements about illegal **immigrants** in our midst.

Murdering anyone must be strongly condemned. Period.

Calls for & foreign& businesses to be registered somewhere far away from our communities will not work. Have any incidences been reported in areas under tribal authority? If not, why is that? In these areas, the community members know one another and any new people who move there.

The process of & registration& is carried out in the traditional way - by the community according to norms they agreed to. The process is a public one and no lists are formulated in secret. It is done in the community by the community, not by councillors and administrators who do not understand the community dynamics.

My family recently acquired land in Kwa-Swayimane outside Pietermaritzburg. Before the transaction was finalised, we had to have a referral letter from someone attesting to our character. After the chief accepted this letter, the headman of the chief had to introduce us to the community around us at a formal ceremony.

It is only after these processes had been completed that we could proceed and assume ownership of the land we had bought. We did not parachute in from out of town nor were we assigned land in a secret deal between ourselves and the seller.

Contrast this with the allocation of RDP houses, which is done out of sight of the community. How many times have we heard of community

protests because houses are allocated to & outsiders& Transparency is vital if one is to deal with our communities. Give them their dignity back by allowing them to be contributors to their own development - including identifying what they need and opportunities to participate in realising that vision.

It is an understatement to say we have a social-cohesion problem. We have not attempted to clearly understand the cultural norms and practices that have sustained us from time immemorial.

We have all become a little lazy and complacent by accepting definitions of our African history and culture that are based on surface observations and easy conclusions.

African culture is complex. It is vibrant. It is innovative and integrative at its core. That is who we are.

& 8226;Gcabashe is a traditional healer.

The principles that sustained our communities are crying out for their revival to bring about a truly united and prosperous country where there is room for **everyone**

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Business Day (South **Africa**)**April** 17, 2015 **Friday**Business Day **Edition****Is a Cape Flats activist our best hope?****BYLINE:** Peter **Bruce****SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL****LENGTH:** 1084 **words**

Is a Cape Flats activist our best hope?

IT IS futile to try to understand what is going on inside Eskom. If it were not for a few brilliant journalists like Sikonathi Mantshantsha and Carol Paton at Business Day and the Financial Mail we would know simply what the authorities choose to tell us.

The dramatic escalation of load shedding this past week is a dark signal of what we are still to face. Add to that the spectre of hateful gangs roaming SA's unlit streets and buildings hunting for & foreigners& to harass and injure and you have a firestorm here that I doubt even as powerful a politician as Jacob Zuma could survive.

As the African National Congress chair and speaker of the National Assembly warned the other day, people in the party are plotting his downfall. If she is right, then a political and economic crisis like the one we face will quickly become their primary weapon.

There are two people involved in the Eskom debacle for whom I feel genuinely sorry. One is

Tshediso Matona, suspended as Eskom CEO mere months after being thrust into the job. Whatever may have been said about his suspension, it is a thoroughly undeserved stain on a fine career as a civil servant. The other is Lynne Brown, who was appointed public enterprises minister after the election last year. She is a regional politician, an activist, from the Western Cape.

Ms Brown was out of the country when Mr Matona, his finance director and two others were suspended at a board meeting last month. When she arrived home, it was a fait accompli. In her absence, as the shareholder, such an instruction to the board could only have come from very high up.

She is, however, a fighter and soon succeeded in removing a chairman, Zola Tsotsi, who had presided over the rapid decline of Eskom since 2011.

In turn, she was required to accept the appointment of Ben Ngubane, a man close to President Jacob Zuma, as acting chairman.

The stakes here are large. Ms Brown reminded us this week that she was determined to do a three-month-long & deep dive& probe into Eskom. That probe, which she has promised will be conducted by an independent, exists to try to understand some fundamental things about our electricity monopoly.

What is its cash position? She still doesn't know. Why is diesel costing so much and who is supplying it? She doesn't know. What contracts, and under what circumstances, have been awarded to whom? She doesn't know.

But while what she is trying to do may be admirable and urgent, she is making, on the surface at least, little progress. A month later, and no one has yet been found to do this & deep dive. That is not surprising. Most of the big auditing firms already do business with Eskom and would potentially be conflicted in any investigation they may conduct.

But it is actually all quite simple. Sure, we would like to know why Eskom's generators keep going down. But that is merely technical. You don't need a deep dive on maintenance because the answer is obvious. Maintenance of Eskom's kit has not been done properly. Eskom has admitted as much and the monopoly's insurance premiums will no doubt reflect that when they renew.

The bigger question, though, is to what extent Eskom, and particularly its huge procurement budget, have been abused and by whom. And probably, why. That is because to win a contract by virtue of anything other than an open and fair tender you would have to cheat. You'd have to be politically connected at a high level. You'd have to pay a bribe to someone in Eskom. It means the company is poorly managed and poorly structured and that this, rather than just repairing a machine, is what needs to be fixed once and for all.

Ms Brown's difficulty is the political connections lucky, and no doubt enriched, suppliers might have. She would have to get board (read Ben Ngubane's) agreement on who does this & deep dive & what it is that will be investigated. The moment she allows it to stray into territory where political cronies are exposed who have walked away with big Eskom contracts, she could find herself on the wrong end of a Cabinet reshuffle.

She will be aware that before Mr Matona was suspended he had agreed to launch an audit of the company precisely to understand which contracts Eskom had awarded and to whom and under what circumstances. As reward, and in

her absence from the country, he was cast into the wilderness.

IT IS almost impossible to conceive of a workable answer to the xenophobia we have witnessed on our streets over the past few months. You can denounce it, appeal for calm, shout your solidarity with terrified immigrants and remind the government of its failure to grow the economy and to reduce poverty. It will not help foreigners when the lights go out and the mob is on the prowl.

For all the much heralded economic promise of Africa, the fact is it is leaking, in the tens of thousands, migrants who can walk or float to anything that vaguely resembles a modern economy. We are one of those destinations. European economies are the only other realistic alternative and there anti-migrant sentiment is extremely powerful and threatens even to topple governments.

Like us, those European countries are still suffering the consequences of the global financial crisis of 2007 and 2008. Their labour markets are brittle, their economies weak.

The only possible answer is to create laws and regulations under which migrants can legally enter and live in SA. They must be fair and easy to comply with. There is no point trying to make immigration here difficult because that merely encourages illegal entry. And then they must be enforced, fairly and consistently. Our borders need proper policing and if the cost of doing that seems high, count the cost now of the damage the violence on our streets does to our reputation as a country.

The point is to be tough, transparent and humane at the same time. The only way to do that successfully is with iron discipline. We need systems that work and officials who know how to do the jobs they have been appointed to do.

Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba can dramatically enhance his political career by

getting this right. Business can help him by providing resources and expertise and by not hiring undocumented migrants.

That is the way efficient governments do it elsewhere in the world. There's no reason why we can't do it too.

The only way to address xenophobia is to devise an entry system for migrants that is tough, fair, easy, transparent and humane

THICK END OF THE WEDGE

Twitter: @bruceps

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Business Day (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

Business Day Edition

## Tackle root causes of xenophobia

**SECTION:** OPINION & EDITORIAL

**LENGTH:** 608 words

Tackle root causes of xenophobia

HOME Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba's bizarre statement blaming the recent outbreak of xenophobic violence in SA on a & third force& bent on destroying SA's international image by giving youths drugs and weapons and instructing them to loot foreign-owned shops, is but the latest example of the government burying its head in the sand.

Former president Thabo Mbeki insisted the first major wave of attacks on foreigners in 2008, which exploded from Gauteng to engulf most of the country, was the work of criminals rather than a generalised xenophobia among South Africans. And the current administration finds itself similarly unable to use the word xenophobia, preferring to describe the attacks as & Afrophobic& as though hating and hurting other Africans is somehow more acceptable than targeting foreigners in general. Never mind that Pakistani, Bangladeshi and ethnic Chinese immigrants have not been spared by the looters.

African National Congress secretary-general Gwede Mantashe betrayed the same misunderstanding of the root causes of the problem when he suggested & transit camps&

be set up to contain **undocumented immigrants** and help them avoid being targeted by locals. Yet these are clearly not people in transit - SA is their final destination, whether or not that was the original intention, and the last thing they want is to be confined in a camp.

There is clearly an element of criminality in the looting that invariably seems to accompany xenophobic attacks in SA. Some attacks may even be instigated with theft as a primary motivation, but there is no getting away from the fact that it is always **foreigners** who are targeted.

There are problems with the way **illegal immigration** is policed, with the borders ridiculously porous and corruption rife. Efforts to prevent xenophobic attacks by setting up intelligence-driven early warning systems have had limited success. The authorities have also been inconsistent in their approach to xenophobic crimes - foreign victims frequently complain that police turn a blind eye or even participate in looting, and successful prosecutions have been few.

But these are all peripheral issues which, though important to resolve, are not the root causes of xenophobic behaviour - or the criminality that accompanies it. The problem stems firstly from a refusal to acknowledge the extent and implications of the **influx of foreigners** that started with the advent of democracy and accelerated with Zimbabwe's political and economic collapse, and secondly from the failure **to address structural unemployment and impediments to growth.**

It is no coincidence that the **two major xenophobic flare-ups** have occurred when the

domestic economy was taking strain ahead of the full might of the 2008 global financial crisis and over the past few weeks, following a steep hike in fuel prices, a raft of bad news on the outlook for the economy and the worst-ever bout of load shedding.

Competition for increasingly scarce resources turns poor people into desperate people, and desperate people lash out in ways that are not always rational. They also target those perceived to be competing for their diminishing slice of the economic pie, which is why both legal and illegal **immigrants** have fallen victim to the violence whether they are from other African countries or Asia, but better off **immigrants** from regions such as Europe have been spared.

President Jacob Zuma's statement to the National Assembly yesterday seemed to indicate that the urgency of the situation has finally concentrated minds on finding long-term solutions.

SA cannot afford to apply a band-aid to the problem **again.**

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Business Day (South **Africa**)**April 17, 2015 Friday**Business Day **Edition****Rainbow nation goes up in smoke on Durban's streets****BYLINE:** Alana **Baranov****SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL****LENGTH:** 1202 **words****Xenophobia**

Rainbow nation goes up in smoke on Durban's streets

DURBAN is burning. This week, much of the city has been smouldering with a seething hatred and the flames of the foreign-owned homes and shops set ablaze. **This most recent wave of xenophobic violence** began nearly three weeks ago and rages on unabated. To date, **several foreign nationals** have been murdered in the frenzy and thousands have been displaced. Hundreds of police officers have found themselves overstretched and overrun as they struggle to protect the victims, and battle to disperse and disarm angry crowds.

According to the **United Nations Human Rights Commission**, in July last year there were about 310,000 **refugees and asylum seekers** in SA. This number is expected to be more than 330,000 by the end of this year. Most of the **asylum seekers** are from African countries stricken by war or other crises, including Zimbabwe, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Eritrea, Somalia, Angola,

Burundi, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Rwanda. Whether escaping conflict or seeking better economic conditions, most of them arrive carrying little more than hope for the future and the dream of a better life for their families. Many also bring with them critical skills that they wish to share with South Africans and a motivation to contribute to our society.

The onslaught against foreigners is a stark reminder of the xenophobic riots that swept across SA in 2008, leaving 62 people dead and scores wounded. Those events are seared in our national consciousness with a deep sense of disgrace. Foreign nationals were dragged through the streets and & necklaced& Thousands of innocent men, women and children with only the clothes on their backs found shelter in churches and mosques, with many living for months in temporary camps. In an instant, SA's dream of a & Rainbow Nation& went up in smoke, and our proudly multiracial and democratic nation hung its head in shame.

Sadly, not many of the lessons learnt from those events have been put into practice. According to the Consortium for **Refugees and Migrants** in SA, attacks on foreigners have continued, with statistics indicating that, on average in 2011, one person a week was killed, while 100 were injured and more than 1,000 displaced.

Xenophobia is not unique to SA but is particularly tragic given the history of prejudice and discrimination our people have overcome. As in 2008, those affected are black African foreign nationals, as well as poor and disenfranchised South Africans living predominantly in the townships. In the aftermath of those appalling events, various historical, social and economic factors were cited as the

underlying causes. These included apartheid and the legacy of the attitudes it fostered; the rate of socioeconomic inequality; and three factors identified by the Forced Migration Studies Programme as a lack of trusted and effective conflict resolution mechanisms, a culture of impunity among those who attack foreign nationals, and competition for community leadership in which local leaders mobilise residents against foreign nationals in order to strengthen their own power base.

Xenophobia in SA is not just a problem of the poor as negative perceptions of foreigners, especially black African foreigners, are sadly widely held by South Africans of all race groups and economic brackets.

In the case of the events in Durban, irresponsible rhetoric by political leadership has also played a damaging role in the unrest. Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's statement on March 20 telling foreigners to & pack their belongings and go back to their countries& as well as the statement by President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, that & we need to be aware that as a country we are sitting on a ticking time bomb of them (foreigners) taking over the country. We can't rule out the possibility of a coup in the future& are believed to be the sparks that ignited the latest round of violence. History has shown, brutally on our own continent in the case of the Rwandan genocide of 1994, that what starts with words often ends with actions and horrifying consequences.

In the past, the government and other political leaders have gone to great lengths to deny that attacks on foreign nationals were an expression of xenophobia, referring to them as merely & criminal acts& Thankfully, there are elements of civil society that are fighting for the recognition of hate crimes, such as the Hate Crimes Working Group - a network of nongovernmental organisations set up to spearhead advocacy and reform initiatives pertaining to hate crimes in SA and the region. Hate crimes, including

xenophobia, are motivated by prejudice and occur when a perpetrator targets a victim because of his or her perceived membership of a certain social group. Official recognition of crimes such as xenophobia as hate crimes would allow for the recording and policing of hate crimes, improve the judicial response, and assist in developing improved monitoring.

The call to & welcome the stranger& through protection and hospitality, and to honour those different from us with respect and equality, is deeply rooted in all major religions. The New Testament and the Koran recount the flight of Joseph, Mary, and baby Jesus to Egypt. Hindu mythology, as well as Jewish and Buddhist teachings and history, are full of references to consecrated places where people suffering maltreatment and discrimination found refuge from danger in a safe location. The tradition of asylum is therefore universal, fundamental to all the main religious value systems, and firmly anchored in cultural, social and political traditions around the world. All major faiths demand that we remember we are all migrants on this earth, journeying together in hope.

South Africans have lived in a time when many of our leaders in the struggle against apartheid knew what it was like to have to flee their homes and live as refugees in exile. Xenophobia and other hate crimes violate the spirit and values of SA's Constitution and the fundamental human rights that belong to all who live in SA. It is the responsibility not simply of the government, but of every citizen, to ensure that the principles of our democratic nation are upheld. All violations of constitutional rights and human rights should be punished, and efforts must be made by the government to prevent violations in the first place.

As the streets of Durban burn with a hatred of the other, let each of us do what we can to end the violence and reach out to the victims. Yesterday was Yom Hashoah, the day of remembrance for the victims of the Holocaust.



Jews around the world stood together and said & never again& to baseless hatred and crimes against humanity. This declaration extends as a call to act against the persecution of a person based solely on their identity and should inspire us all to take a stand against xenophobia and protect the strangers in our midst.

& 8226;Baranov is a freelance writer and social justice activist based in Durban. She is vice-president of the Council of KwaZulu-Natal Jewry and was a founding member of the Hate Crimes Working Group.

Irresponsible rhetoric by political leadership has played a damaging role in the **unrest**

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Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

**E1 Edition**

**ANC 2012 conference called for tougher border control**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **3**

**LENGTH:** 395 **words**

AMID the ANC's denunciation of this week's violence against foreign nationals in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, echoing the government's condemnation, controversy erupted over ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe's public comments that South Africa should establish camps at its borders, and most foreign nationals were **undocumented**.

Yet Mantashe simply articulated the 2012 Mangaung ANC conference resolutions which, among others, state: "Government should reconsider its policy relating to centres for **asylum seekers** during consideration of their status" and that "the presence of undocumented **migrants** in the Republic poses both an economic and security threat to the country".

The ANC Mangaung conference resolution for the government to reconsider its policy was made amid a call for tougher border control and criminalisation of "fraudulent acquisition of vital documents" like IDs. The peace and security resolutions also noted "there is empirical evidence that the majority of **asylum seekers** do not qualify for **refugee** status and protection".

Although the Lindela repatriation centre is the awaiting-deportation facility for undocumented immigrants, there is no current policy of encampment pending processing.

Unlike the government which has shied away from calling the violence xenophobia, the ANC Mangaung resolutions straightforwardly speak of xenophobia.

"There should be awareness programmes to combat xenophobia and educate society against narrow nationalism," according to the peace and stability resolutions.

Under the heading "xenophobia" in its international relations resolutions, the ANC in December 2012 resolved to "increase awareness of South Africans about the causes and dangers of xenophobia as well as the role foreign nationals play in the country's economy and national life using dialogue, the media and other engagement modalities".

The resolutions, which firmly place the ANC on the side of South-South co-operation, Pan-Africanism and strong relations with the African

Union, also recognise "the rights of international migrants as a vulnerable group of persons and the responsibilities that they have towards their host country".

Thus the ANC should develop a position paper on international migration, immigration and xenophobia and that it would join Cosatu in educating foreign nationals "especially those from the African continent" on their labour rights.

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Cape Argus (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

**Battered and alone after mob violence**

**LENGTH:** 429 words

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2

AN ETHIOPIAN broke down in tears as he recalled how a mob attacked him and his brother and looted their shop in an informal settlement near Germiston yesterday.

Gudiso Landela said he was forced to deal with the mess the group had left, but yearned to be at his younger brother Tamrad's side. Tamrad is recovering in hospital after the group stabbed him. Gudiso sustained an injury to his leg during the **attack**.

Struggling to speak as he fought back tears, he described how about 20 locals from the Makause informal settlement in Ekurhuleni broke into his shop and started assaulting them. "They came into the shop and started stealing our stock. When my brother and I told them to leave, they took out a knife and stabbed him."

**The businessman**, who has to account for the loss of thousands of rand in stock, is worried about piecing his life back together. "I don't know how I'm going to earn a living now that my shop is closed, and I don't know where I'm going to sleep tonight. All I have in this country is my brother, but now he is in hospital and I am alone."

**Gudiso and Tamrad have temporary asylum seeker permits** and have been **working legally** in the country for the past four years.

Gudiso said in this time they had never caused any problems and that they spent most of their time working in their shop.

But they are among **many foreigners** in the area who have reportedly been attacked by locals and forced to flee their homes.

Several **foreign business owners** were seen loading stock from their shops onto trucks and bakkies. They scrambled to ensure they did not leave anything behind while they did their best to do clear up as quickly as possible.

The situation inside the informal settlement was calm yesterday morning and locals looked on curiously as their foreigner neighbours fled. There was a large police presence inside the settlement, and many other officers were stationed at the perimeter of the area.

**Ekurhuleni mayor Mondli Gungubele**, who visited the area yesterday to quell tensions, said a strong police presence was imperative to fight the attacks.

The metro has also kept a place ready for the **foreigners displaced** in the attacks. Others have been sleeping outside the Primrose police station.

Gungubele said he had met community leaders who had since warned residents against attacking foreigners. He said individuals were behind the attacks and not the community as a collective.

"There is no reason to believe a collective movement is responsible for these attacks. The ordinary people want them to stay and their businesses are valuable in the **community**."

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Cape Argus (South Africa)

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E1 Edition

## Zuma condemns outbreaks, but sympathises with local concerns

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 730 words

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma has addressed this week's violence against foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal and elsewhere, calling for an end to the attacks but saying the government was "sympathetic" to socio-economic issues raised by South Africans.

"No amount of frustration or anger can ever justify the attacks on foreign nationals and the looting of their shops," he said yesterday.

But, "while we strongly condemn the attacks, we are aware of, and are sympathetic to, some of the issues that have been raised by affected South African citizens".

These issues included illegal and undocumented immigrants, the increase in the number of shops "that have been taken over by foreign nationals", and perceptions that foreigners committed crime.

Zuma announced ongoing diplomatic engagements with representatives of targeted foreigners, increased South African National Defence Force deployment to ports of entry in seven provinces, and more urgent efforts by Home Affairs to step up its migration and border control capacity.

In appealing for calm, Zuma said foreigners helped create a "cosmopolitan atmosphere" in South Africa: "We also want to see an increase in tourism figures from countries in the continent and to share a lot of business opportunities as part of promoting sustainable economic development in the continent."

That message, alongside foreigners' economic contribution to the national purse through tax and tolls, was reiterated by Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba. So was the message that not all foreigners in South Africa were undocumented or involved in illegal activities.

Meanwhile, Zuma's administration has been lambasted by opposition parties for its slow response. And the president himself was fingered for failing to "whip (his) own son in line" - a reference by EFF leader Julius Malema to Edward Zuma's repeated comments that foreigners should leave South Africa.

Zuma's son first expressed these sentiments following Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's comments, at a moral regeneration gathering last month, that foreigners should pack their bags and leave the country.

The king subsequently said the media had distorted his words.

The DA, EFF, United Democratic Movement (UDM) and Freedom Front Plus, without mentioning names, raised the matter of irresponsible comments by leaders.

However, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was able to say this before running out of podium speaking time: "I'm sorry I was not able to talk about my king because I think he is being misused by some people..."

UDM leader Bantu Holomisa called on Zuma to make "an immediate presidential visit to the Zulu nation to share with the king the spirit of the House (Parliament) in this important matter".

Holomisa condemned the violence and described it as the outcome of "a country with high levels of poverty, high unemployment rate, high levels of inequality... with a leadership whose attention is on filling their pockets through corruption".

DA parliamentary leader Mmusi Maimane said "leaders who make statements" should not be allowed to get away from taking responsibility for them.

"We must not turn xenophobia into a political football. We must not shy away from the root causes of the problem either... our inability to bring about economic growth and decrease the inequality that plagues our nation."

Malema put responsibility for the violence at Zuma's doorstep, saying the president had failed to take a public platform to call on Zwelithini to condemn the violence.

"When you disagreed with the people of Marikana you killed them," Malema said in reference to the August 2012 police killing of 34 miners. "When (community activist Andries) Tatane protested against this state, you killed him..."

FF+ chief whip Corne Mulder said "irresponsible political comments" created a climate for violence. "There seems to be an evil spirit running around in this country. Where are the positive values?...We see greed, disrespect, corruption and lawlessness."

For the second time in two days, Zuma moved to dispel negative perceptions of foreigners and to ensure calm is restored. He said South Africa had an opportunity on Africa Day, May 25, to promote its African identity. Many South African leaders were hosted with dignity and respect in countries across the continent during apartheid.

"Our country stands firmly against all intolerance such as racism, xenophobia, homophobia and sexism..."

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Cape Times (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

## Deal with root causes

**SECTION:** Pg. 8

**LENGTH:** 366 words

DEALING with the consequences of [the problem we call xenophobia is [an ongoing challenge, but we will have little real success until we deal with [the root causes.

While we battle xenophobia, Europe is experiencing massive problems with **refugees** from Africa. Thousands of them are rescued from sinking boats every month and this week over 400 have **drowned**.

These are two aspects of the same problem. We should be asking why people are fleeing from African countries and what can be done about it. I'm afraid we are all dealing with the fallout from poor governance, corruption and the actions of warlords.

There are things we need to do and can do to avoid the kind of violence and looting we have seen, but we also need to get to the root causes.

We need to talk to the African Union, the European Union and the UN.

South Africa recently received Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and honoured him like a national hero. One of the problems we have is that something like a million Zimbabweans are working or looking for work in South Africa. Did we even discuss this with Mugabe?

Another big problem is the exporting of capital from countries with vast oil and diamond resources. If more of this capital was put to work

in Africa to build infrastructure and improve health care and education, we would not have the influx of people desperate for work. These are some of the things we need to talk about if we are to find long-term solutions to the xenophobia problem.

It is important to understand that the people fleeing their own countries are among the best qualified and most enterprising workers. They are strongly motivated and they compete fiercely for jobs and trade. In many cases this competition is unwelcome and creates some local resentment, but it also represents a huge loss to the countries they left behind. No country can afford to lose its most capable people without suffering severe consequences.

Xenophobia is a much bigger problem than we realise. It is not a problem South Africa can solve on its own, but we can take the lead and focus on the roots of the problem.

We must get the AU, the EU and the UN involved.

Janine Myburgh

President of the Cape Chamber of [Commerce and **Industry**

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Daily Dispatch (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

## Chaos erupts at Durban march

**BYLINE:** Taschica Pillay; Bianca Capazorio

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 468 words

By

THOUSANDS came in peace, marching against xenophobia - but it all ended in more chaotic violence.

Minutes after politicians, cultural and religious leaders in Durban signed a community pledge against xenophobia, tensions flared when police used teargas and stun grenades to disperse pockets of angry anti-peace protesters at Anton Lembede Street and Joe Slovo Street.

About 10000 people including first lady Tobeka Zuma sang, prayed and waved placards during their march from Curries Fountain to the Durban City Hall in solidarity against the attacks which began in Durban and have spread to Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg.

In between addresses and entertainment at the city hall, the crowd could be heard calling for King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Chaos erupted on the streets near the city hall as locals attempted to break a police barricade surrounding the peace march.

Police battled for about 30 minutes to control the chanting, angry crowds.

Anti-peace protesters shouted and chanted for the foreigners to leave South Africa, saying they were "taking our women, our jobs and our land".

At the city hall, KwaZulu-Natal premier Senzo Mchunu spelled out a multi-pronged approach to end the attacks.

He said a committee led by former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Judge Navi Pillay, would over the next 12 months conduct scientific investigations into the root cause of the situation.

"They will be looking at it scientifically so that it becomes a record that is undisputed. They will indicate how government should contain the situation of foreign nationals, and inform policy.

"They will look at the attitude of people and educational needs...They will advise us how to deal with the situation and monitor it," said Mchunu.



In parliament yesterday, President Jacob Zuma condemned xenophobia - but EFF leader Julius Malema accused him of encouraging violence.

Zuma said South Africans had been treated with "generosity and respect by our brothers from Africa" when they had fled apartheid.

He said many foreign nationals contributed to the economy, brought scarce skills or were refugees who had fled wars.

Zuma called for those "fanning the flames of violence" on social media to desist.

Malema, however, blamed Zuma for creating the impression that problems could be solved through violence.

"When you disagreed with the people in Marikana, you killed them...When [Andries] Tatane protested against this state, you killed him," he said.

Malema said Zuma's son, Edward Zuma, had contributed to the problem by making statements against foreign nationals.

"You cannot control the country and you cannot control your own son," he said.

See also page 2

ANGRY LOCALS: Police disperse protesters who were disturbing the peace march against xenophobia in Durban yesterday Picture: THULI DLAMINI

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**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

**Cops forced to act after clashes at Durban peace march**

**BYLINE:** Taschica Pillay

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE



**LENGTH:** 569 words

THOUSANDS came in peace, marching against xenophobia.

But minutes after politicians, cultural and religious leaders in Durban signed a community pledge against xenophobia, tensions flared when police used teargas and stun grenades to disperse pockets of angry anti-peace protesters.

About 10000 people, including first lady Tobeka Zuma, were united as they sang, prayed and waved placards during their march from Curries Fountain to the Durban City Hall in solidarity against the attacks, which began in Durban and has spread to Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg.

In between speeches at the city hall, the crowd could be heard calling for King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Zwelithini is facing charges of hate speech at the SA Human Rights Commission, after saying in Pongola last month that "immigrants [must] take their bags and go where they come from".

The charges were laid by SA National Defence Force union spokesman Tim Flack in his personal capacity.

"The king needs to account and be charged for inciting this violence," Flack said.

Zwelithini initially denied the statement and later accused the media of misinterpreting his words to sell newspapers.

Chaos erupted on the streets near the Durban City Hall yesterday as people attempted to break a strong police barricade surrounding the peace march.

Police battled for about 30 minutes to control the chanting angry crowd.

Anti-peace protesters said they were furious that the speakers spoke about the foreigners as positively contributing to the economy.

They shouted and chanted for the foreign nationals to leave South Africa, saying they were "taking our women, our jobs and our land".

At the city hall, KwaZulu- Natal premier Senzo Mchunu spelt out a multi-pronged approach to end the attacks.

He said a committee led by former United Nations high commissioner for human rights Judge Navi Pillay, that includes conflict resolution specialist Vasu Gounden, Advocate Comfort Ngidi and Muzi Ntombela from the business community, would over the next 12 months conduct an investigation into the root cause of the problem.

"They will be looking at it scientifically so that it becomes a record that is undisputed," Mchunu said.

"They will indicate how the government should contain the situation of foreign nationals, and inform policy.

"They will look at the attitudes of people and educational needs.

"In every country there will always be foreign nationals. They will be advising us how to deal with the situation."

Mchunu said discussions with Zwelithini were ongoing.

Durban student Charmaine Sibiya condemned the violence against foreigners.

"I feel we are all equal. Just because they are not South African does not mean they must be beaten up," she said.

Nontobeko Mkhungo said she was angry because her friend, a Nigerian national, was forced to flee his tuckshop in Wyebank.

Steven Ezende, of Nigeria, said he wanted peace.

"We are one nation. We are all Africans. Many people fled their countries after some of them lost their families. I don't want it to happen to them again," he said.

KEEP THE PEACE: Anti-xenophobia marchers walk through the Durban city centre yesterday

END XENOPHOBIA: Part of an estimated crowd of about 10000 who took part in an anti-xenophobia peace march in Durban yesterday. The police were forced to step in when groups

clashed with the peaceful protesters at the Durban City Hall oReport on Page 2 Pictures: **EPA**

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**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

## **Xenophobia's fires sparked by poor **leadership****

**BYLINE:** Rudzani Floyd **Musekwa**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 531 **words**

RECENT incidents of xenophobic attacks in the royal province of KwaZulu Natal may have been flared by the reckless utterances of King Goodwill, or is that Badwill Zwelithini.

But a closer look here is that xenophobia in South Africa is a clear result of poor or non-existent political **leadership**.

It started in KwaZulu-Natal and has since mushroomed to Johannesburg, and who knows where it's headed next?

And why did it take the president of this country so long to condemn this war between South African citizens and their fellow African brothers and sisters?

Is it because it's black on black violence and as such it will naturally stop and we'll move on with our precious lives as if nothing happened?

The lack of political leadership during this very dark period in our country is sickening.

Why are we even in the African Union if we hate our fellow African brothers and sisters?

Are we so quick to forget that they gave our liberation heroes shelter when the National Party made them look like criminals in their own country?

How can we be so quick to forget such important historical facts?

History will judge South Africa very harshly based on the recent unfortunate attacks.

People from all over the world will soon forget that we were the darling of the world when we transitioned from an oppressive system to democracy without any shedding of blood in the process.

People will forget that we are that country that showed that reconciliation was possible in an African country without any civil war and mayhem.

We will soon be known only as xenophobic South Africa and no longer that accommodative country that welcomed fellow African brothers and sisters with open arms.

History will also judge our politicians very harshly for almost folding arms while the lives of poor, innocent people were being lost.

How do we feel as a country when Malawi even goes as far as recalling its people in an effort to protect them from the danger zone that our country has become?

How does our president one day in one of those continental meetings even look at the president of that country?

Truth be told, we have an influx of people who enter the country on a daily basis without the proper paperwork. But that is because of our poorly managed borders and the corruption that comes with it. And this is because our political leaders don't care at all.

If our borders were properly managed there wouldn't be any animosity between Africans in South Africa because we'd all know that whoever is here from wherever was here legally and was here to better themselves economically as a citizen of the continent.

There's nothing wrong about an African in Africa or in South Africa.

How do we explain to our children the images of burning people and running mothers with their terrified young children on their backs?

How do we even spin that?

A fellow African necklaced in a burning tyre as people look on, some even whistling and all.

This is totally wrong and our leaders better save the situation before our nation chokes in smoke.

**BROTHERS IN ARMS:** Foreign nationals in Durban take up arms, waiting for the locals to come and attack them Picture: **TEBOGO LETSIE/The Times**

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## THE HERALD

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April** 17, 2015 **Friday**

### **Students urged to help bring end to attacks**

**BYLINE:** Mkhululi **Ndamase**

**SECTION: EDUCATION**

**LENGTH:** 458 **words**

Those comrades never [forsook] us. They gave us food, shelter, money and an education

STUDENT movement Sasco used its Oliver Tambo Memorial Lecture at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University last night to condemn xenophobia in South Africa, saying that in honour of the former anti-apartheid activist, it must be **defeated**.

The ANC-aligned student organisation stressed the need for South Africans to work together in defeating xenophobia, saying Tambo and other freedom fighters had been welcomed in African countries during the fight against apartheid.

The call comes after weeks of xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal, which have spread to Gauteng.

Delivering the lecture, Sasco former leader Lutho Nduvane called on the students to treat foreign nationals the way anti-apartheid activists were treated while in exile.

"It cannot be right, comrades, that when it is time to pay back our brothers and sisters who gave us shelter in their own countries, we kill them. We butcher them.

"Xenophobia is equal to racism. It is not of their own liking that they are in our country today. The situations in their countries are forcing them to be **refugees** in our country as we were **refugees** in their countries.

"Those comrades never [forsook] us. They gave us food, shelter, money and an education," he said.

Sasco western region chairman Khaya Ngubentombi called on the students to honour Tambo by fighting xenophobia.

"It ought to be frustrated, comrades. Comrade Tambo fought for a non-racial and non-sexist society - not for xenophobia.

"Xenophobia is an opportunist evil. [It] must fall. We must strive to be like comrade Tambo," he said.

Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba was expected to deliver the lecture but could not attend because he had to deal with the xenophobic attacks, a special programmes deputy director at his department, Khayakazi Dasi, said.

Dasi apologised on behalf of Gigaba and promised the students that the minister would visit the university at a future date.

"It is not because he belittled this gathering. It is not because he did not see the importance of this gathering, but there are national issues he had to attend to," Dasi said.

Clad in ANC T-shirts that were distributed before the lecture, about 300 students sang struggle songs and danced between speeches.

Ngubentombi also called for all colonial and apartheid- era statues to fall.

Delivering a message of support, ANC regional chairman Xolani Mgxotheni called on the Sasco-affiliated students to honour Tambo by ensuring the student body remained relevant.

He warned that squabbles for leadership positions should not overtake Sasco's primary objective of representing students.

"Our responsibility is to ensure the xenophobic attacks do not continue," he **said**.

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**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

## GIVE PEACE A GO

**BYLINE:** Zandile Mabela, Yoliswa Sobuwa, Gareth Wilson; Bianca Capazorio

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 980 words

Bay rallies to beat xenophobia

Malema lays into 'killer' Zuma

Police units already on high alert

Give peace a go call as fears rise over spread of violence

EFF leader Julius Malema laid into President Jacob Zuma yesterday as Zuma condemned the violent xenophobic attacks that have gripped parts of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, saying the president had created the impression that problems could be solved with violence.

Malema said Zuma had a habit of hitting back with violence against those who disagreed with him.

"When you disagreed with the people in Marikana, you killed them," he said.

"When the people of Relela [Limpopo] protested, you killed them.

"When the people of Mothutlung [North West] were demanding water, you killed them. When [Andries] Tatane protested [in Ficksburg in the Free State] against this state, you killed him."

Malema said Zuma's son, Edward, had contributed to the problem by making statements against foreign nationals.

"You cannot control the country and you cannot control your own son," Malema said.

Zuma made a special statement about the violence in parliament yesterday, saying that South Africans were not inherently xenophobic.

"If they were, we would not have such a high number of foreign nationals who have successfully integrated into communities."

He said South Africans had been treated with "generosity and respect by our brothers from Africa" when they had fled apartheid and refugees here needed to be treated the same way.

The perceptions of foreign nationals as illegal, criminal or taking over jobs or ownership of shops needed to be addressed.

Many foreign nationals contributed to the economy, brought scarce skills, or were refugees who had fled wars.

Zuma called for calm and dialogue in solving the issues and urged those "fanning the flames of violence" on social media to desist.

Zuma's address comes as Eastern Cape police are on high alert following the violence in other parts of the country.

Joint operation centres have been set up provincially and in clusters to keep watch for potential flare-ups. Emergency evacuation plans are also being prepared.

Foreign nationals and shop owners in Nelson Mandela Bay are on tenterhooks, although most are confident that collaborative initiatives with businesses and residents will prevent any attacks.

Foreign businessmen in some previous xenophobia hotspots believe the recently developed Business Unit 41 and Ward 45 CPF initiatives will protect them should xenophobic attacks reach the city.

The province has not been immune to xenophobic violence.

Attacks on foreign nationals have occurred in Uitenhage, New Brighton, Missionvale, Bethelsdorp, Kwazakhele and in other areas in the last few years.

The Business Unit 41 initiative in Joe Slovo gives unemployed youths something constructive to do after they were identified as the main perpetrators in previous attacks. They are now receiving incentives to protect spaza shops.

In Uitenhage's Ward 45, a community policing forum (CPF) gets together daily to patrol the streets and prevent attacks.

Emotional foreign nationals told yesterday how they had left their homes, mostly in wartorn countries, in search of greener pastures, but had not found South Africa to be the promised land they expected.

Tashale Kassa, 25, who left Ethiopia 10 years ago and runs a shop in Joe Slovo, is worried about his brother in Johannesburg - whose shop there was looted and destroyed - and is preparing to travel there to find him.

"I'm scared, really scared by this thing and I'm worried about my brother as I don't know if he is dead or alive.

"I last spoke to him two weeks ago. I'm going there to see if he is alive or not.

"When I came to South Africa, I was looking for freedom and a better life than the one I had at home, but I constantly live in fear for my life," Kassa said.

But Somali Ahmed Mohammed, 44, who has been in the country for 11 years, said he was not afraid of any impending attacks because "there is unity between community members and the [80-member] business forum".

"We understand that it can happen here, too, because we live with different human beings," he said.

"It happened last year, but at least this year we have the support of the community members and the forum."

Another Somali, Hussein Abdi Mursal, 29, said: "We can't say we are not shaken by the recent xenophobic attacks because it is happening in different places in South Africa.

"Fortunately, in our area, we have people who are looking out for us. As a result, we feel much safer."

In Uitenhage's Ward 45, CPF member Nokuzola Mbewu is one of 24 people patrolling the streets of KwaNobuhle every night from 8pm until morning.

"We have to make sure ooMy Friend [colloquially used term referring to foreign shop owners] are safe because they provide jobs for our families and offer a great service," she said.

"We don't understand why people are fighting these people.

"It is now no longer a xenophobic issue - there is an element of crime in it.

"We deal with people who break into foreign-owned shops by handing them over to the police because they don't belong in our community."

National police commissioner Riah Piyega said joint operation centres had been set up to curb any threats of violence.

Provincial police spokeswoman Brigadier Marinda Mills said all units, including the public order policing divisions across the Eastern Cape, had been placed on high alert.



"We have instructed all stations to conduct patrols in areas where there is a high density of foreigners living and operating small businesses.

"Commanders have also been requested to place all members, including support personnel and those on rest days, on alert to deploy at short notice. This includes public order police units," she said.

Station commanders had also been asked to put contingency plans in place for possible evacuations if needed.

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**Mail & Guardian**

Mail & Guardian

April 17, 2015

**Concerned King Zwelithini will bid to stop the xenophobic attacks**

**HIGHLIGHT:** KZN premier Senzo Mchunu has announced that Zwelithini is concerned about the attacks and will meet with traditional leaders in a bid to stop them.

**BYLINE:** News24 Wire

**SECTION:** NATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 362 words

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini will hold a meeting with traditional leaders in a bid to stop xenophobic attacks. KwaZulu-Natal premier Senzo Mchunu made the announcement in Durban on Friday where he again urged locals not to attack foreigners. Mchunu said Zwelithini would hold the meeting with the Amakhosi on Monday at one of the stadiums in the city. Durban has been wracked by a continuing spate



of attacks on **immigrants**, which many have blamed on a speech Zwelithini made last month in which he reportedly expressed anti-**immigrant sentiments**.

Mchunu said Zwelithini was considering a direct broadcast to urge calm. "We have met with his majesty twice. He is extremely unhappy. He rejects the attacks. He's **expressing concerns at some of the activities carried out by foreigners**." 'Misintepreted' Mchunu said Zwelithini's speech last month, where he reportedly said "foreigners must pack their bags and go home", was misinterpreted. He said the king meant to **call on government** to **address his concerns regarding foreigners**. Mchunu said it was not a call for attacks to be carried out on **foreigners**. The premier's announcement follows a march against xenophobia in Durban on Thursday, which was marred by police having running street battles with those who are against **foreigners**. But Mchunu insisted the march was a success and there were more people who had marched against xenophobia than those that had caused it. 'Calculated moves' Asked what information **the government** had about those who were involved in the attacks against **foreign**

**businesses**, he said the initial attacks had started randomly, but it now seemed "there was a calculated move to target foreign businesses". He said there appeared to be three issues that were upsetting locals. **These were that informal traders in the townships could not compete with the prices which foreign-owned businesses were selling their products, criminality that foreigners were involved in and a lack of respect shown by foreigners** to locals. Mchunu announced the establishment of a seven-man panel to investigate locals' complaints against **foreigners** and how they can be addressed. The panel would be headed by Judge Navi **Pillay**.

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**Mail & Guardian**

**Mail & Guardian**

**April 17, 2015**

**ANALYSIS: Are foreign nationals stealing jobs in South Africa?**

**BYLINE:** Kate **Wilkinson**

**SECTION: NATIONAL****LENGTH: 1065 words**

**HIGHLIGHT:** International migrants are often accused of stealing jobs from locals in South Africa. But new data presents a far more nuanced picture.

Note: This article was originally published on 8 February 2015. We have republished it now following the recent outbreak of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. With every outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa, the refrain is the same. "The kwerekwere are stealing our jobs," people say. Shops are torched. Streets are barricaded. Tyres are set alight. Rocks become weapons. People are hacked, stabbed, shot and burned to death. Jubilant mobs hound Somalis, Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis from their homes and businesses. The claim that "foreigners" are taking jobs from South Africans "is an argument that is always made", says Professor Loren Landau, director of the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) at Wits University. "As if it justifies killing." The most recent spate of violence in Gauteng, which swept through parts of Soweto, Kagiso, Alexandra and Langlaagte, claimed the lives of six people, including a one month old child. "I am not xenophobic"

Statements by some government ministers have done little to calm tensions. In the weeks preceding the violence, Nomvula Mokonyane, the Minister of Water and Sanitation, commented on Facebook that in Kagiso "[a]lmost every second outlet (spaza) or even former general dealer shops are run by people

of Somali or Pakistan origin (sic) ... I am not xenophobic fellow comrades and friends but this is a recipe for disaster". And last week Small Business Development Minister Lindiwe Zulu told Business Day that "[f]oreigners need to understand that they are here as a courtesy and our priority is to the people of this country first and foremost ... They cannot barricade themselves in and not share their practices with local business owners". New data provides new insights

"The idea that people are here 'stealing' jobs and that they don't have a right to be here needs to be corrected," says Dr Zaheera Jinnah, an anthropologist and researcher at the ACMS. Myths and misconceptions travel quickly. But new data, some of which has yet to be published, presents a far more nuanced picture of what it means to be a migrant from Africa or Asia and trying to make a living in South Africa. The Migrating for Work Research Consortium (MiWORC), an organisation that examines migration and its impact on the South African labour market, released two studies last year that drew on labour data collected in 2012 by Statistics South Africa. They found that 82% of the working population aged between 15 and 64 were "non-migrants", 14% were "domestic migrants" who had moved between provinces in the past five years and just 4% could be classed as "international migrants". With an official working population of 33 017 579 people, this means that around 1.2-million of them were international migrants. A racial breakdown of the statistics reveals that 79% of international migrants were African, 17% were white and around three percent were Indian or Asian. Jinnah said that there were misconceptions about the size of the international migrant community in South Africa. "There is a disconnect between perception and reality largely because there hasn't been data available until now. So a lot of what has been said and reproduced is based on

hearsay and anecdotal evidence or myths."MiWORC found that Gauteng province had the highest proportion of foreign-born workers with around 8% of the working population having been born in another country.Limpopo and Mpumalanga had the next highest proportion of international **migrants** at 4%, followed by North West (3%), the Western Cape (3%), Free State (2%), Northern Cape (1%), Eastern Cape (1%) and KwaZulu-Natal (1%).Low unemployment rates

International **migrants** are more likely to be employed than South Africans. According to the MiWORC data, international **migrants** in South Africa have much lower unemployment rates than others. This is unusual. In most other countries, international **migrants** tend to have higher unemployment rates than locals.South Africa's unemployment data shows that 26.16% of "non-**migrants**" are unemployed and 32.51% of "domestic **migrants**" are unemployed. By comparison, only 14.68% of international **migrants** are unemployed.But while international **migrants** are less likely to be unemployed, most find themselves in positions of unstable, "precarious employment". They don't have access to benefits or formal work contracts.International **migrants** in South Africa are more likely to take jobs that locals are not willing to take or find work in the informal sector.According to the MiWORC research, 32.65% of international **migrants** are employed in the informal sector in South Africa compared to 16.57% of "non-**migrants**" and 17.97% of "domestic **migrants**".The studies suggest that this is because the informal sector offers the lowest entry cost into the labour market. The majority of international **migrants** also come from African countries which have large informal sectors.Foreigners don't dominate informal sector

According to MiWORC's research, international **migrants** are far more likely to run their own

businesses. Eleven percent are "employers" and 21% are classed as "self-employed". By comparison, only 5% of non-**migrants** and domestic **migrants** were employers and only 9% of non-**migrants** and 7% of domestic **migrants** were self-employed.Late last year, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory - a collaborative project between Wits University, the University of Johannesburg and the provincial government - conducted a limited survey of the informal sector in Johannesburg.Dr Sally Peberdy, a senior researcher at the Observatory - says that the belief that international **migrants** dominate the informal sector is false. "We found that less than two out of 10 people who owned a business in the informal sector [in Johannesburg] were cross-border **migrants**."Peberdy argues that international **migrants** do play a positive role in South Africa. "The evidence shows that they contribute to South Africa and South Africans by providing jobs, paying rent, paying VAT and providing affordable and convenient goods."The Observatory's study, which is due to be published tomorrow, found that 31% of the 618 international **migrant** traders interviewed rented properties from South Africans. Collectively they also employed 1 223 people, of which 503 were South Africans.This article was commissioned by the Sunday Times.It first appeared on **AfricaCheck**

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All Rights **Reserved****Mail & Guardian****Mail & Guardian****April 17, 2015****No clear answer to the **violence**...****BYLINE:** Kwanele **Sosibo****SECTION:** **NATIONAL****LENGTH:** 1206 **words****HIGHLIGHT:** ...and different ideas as to the cause of the recent **xenophobic attacks** in KwaZulu-**Natal**.

Breaking clear of a dense crowd gathered at the intersection of Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker streets in central Durban, the athletic figure of Abad Salif took a crescent-shaped path. From the taxi rank, he ran into Yusuf Dadoo Street, dodging the haphazard rush-hour traffic and heading for a pavement. He crossed Dr Pixley kaSeme Street and bolted towards Albert Park, an inner city neighbourhood with large numbers of foreigners. A man prevaricated for a second, flipped open his knife and half-heartedly gave chase, to cheers and whistles. For a moment, the crowd's attention was diverted from a group of looters prying open an electronics corner shop with crowbars and even their bare hands. In the

relative safety of Albert Park, a still panting Salif, a swarthy man in black canvas sneakers, faded blue jeans and a striped brown shirt, seemed unfazed. "For now, we realise that those who are doing this are criminals, not the xenophobia or something ... There are few people who are doing that. Few, few, few," he said, his panting subsiding. His friend, Hussein Jello, echoed his **sentiments**.

"We never heard the word[s] like 'hamba, makwerekwere' [get out, foreigners], you understand? All we see is shops breaking and throwing stones." Jello said they were returning from afternoon prayers at a nearby mosque, and he believed King Goodwill Zwelethini was being blamed for the attacks. "This is Africa; I don't believe an elder, not even a king ... can say such things. I personally believe he has been misinterpreted." Scenes like these in other parts of Durban on Wednesday continued the following day, spreading to nearby towns such as Verulam, Shakaskraal, Stanger and Pietermaritzburg. Misinterpreted

Mthembiseni Thusi, the deputy chairperson of the hostel dwellers' nongovernmental organisation, Ubunye bama Hostela Nezakhiwo Zawo (UnHNZ), agreed with Jello that Zwelethini's comments, made on March 20 at a moral regeneration event in Phongolo in northern KwaZulu-Natal, had been misinterpreted. He said the king's speech was wide-ranging, including the characterisation of politicians as "hamstrung by securing votes"

and foreigners as "dirty" and "criminal", and people had picked up whatever supported their cause. "What we as leaders on the ground are saying is don't twist the king's words to say he called for violence on foreigners. He didn't," said Thusi. "He said foreigners should go back home so that we can fix our problems as a people. He was talking about catching and deporting drug dealers. And, since he has explained that he wasn't talking about acts of violence, then let the people stop it if they're doing it on his accord."

Mthembiseni Thusi. (Photos: Delwyn Verasamy, M&G) Thusi said the leadership of the UnHNZ had visited a **refugee** camp in Isipingo, where about 300 foreigners were being housed, to try to repair relations. "They said we should ask the king why he said that," Thusi said. "[But] we can't go to the king and ask him anything. He's the head of the house; you can't admonish him. So there were cultural differences that we could not resolve." The foreigners drew a line between criminality and xenophobia, and said some of the attacks were not as spontaneous as they appeared to be. Nigerian shopowners in Albert Park said they had seen minibuses dropping off would-be looters in Albert Park, and they had heard the same from compatriots in the former Point Road (now Mahatma Gandhi Road). 'Don't call me lazy'

For many other people, the king's remarks have little to do with the current wave of looting and violence that is estimated to have left more than 1 500 people displaced and at least six dead. Menzi Mrafa, a resident of Bottlesbrush in Chatsworth, south of Durban, said he participated in driving foreigners out of his area, and got involved because he was tired of the perception that South Africans were lazy. "You can't call me that until you give me a job. You can't call me that until you respect my rights as an employee." Earlier Mrafa had attended a local ANC branch meeting addressed by ward 71's chairperson, Falakhe Mhlongo. **The local politician did his best to limit the damage**

**inflicted by the attacks on the ruling party. Mhlongo said residents and their migrant neighbours should form committees to ensure that, when they sought employment, they should demand standardised minimum wages.**

Abad Salif. But, Mrafa said, that wouldn't work because factories did not hire workers en bloc from single settlements. Residents of Isipingo south of Durban said the attacks started at the end of March following the use of foreign scab labour during a strike at a local factory. "You see the problem with Malawians is that they like to work with the Muslims too much," said Anuri Djuna, a Congolese barber turned carpenter in the Prospecton **refugee** camp housing about 300 **refugees**, including 100 women and children. The camp, with its three green tarpaulins, has been set up on sports grounds in an industrial area. 'Rhetoric and stories'

**Daniel Byamungu Dunia, a spokesperson for the camp's residents, said Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba, KwaZulu-Natal Premier Senzo Mchunu and the provincial MEC for transport and community safety, Willie Mchunu, had come to the camp with "rhetoric and stories". Dunia said he believed the problems emanated from government policies in dealing with refugees. "South Africa's no-camp policy allows asylum seekers to compete for work with South Africans. Because of desperation, any type of work a foreigner gets he will go for it. In my view, if they set up camps, it would help stop this war. It wouldn't be South Africa's money anyway; it would be the UN [United Nations] High Commissioner for Refugees", in any case.** Analysts said the co-ordinated nature of the attacks suggests a possible political motive. **Bheki Mngomezulu, of the internal and public affairs department at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, said: "It's obvious that there's an underlying force that's driving this. The recent contested regional elective conference of the ANC and even the larger succession battles of the ANC have a hand in what's going on and in the camps, driving this**

behind the scenes. This is all to create an impression that people currently at the helm of the government nationally, and even provincially, are doing a poor job so that it can impact following local government elections and elective conferences. In Pietermaritzburg, people reported taxis dropping people off. If these were criminals, they wouldn't commit these acts in broad daylight in front of police and journalists. Obviously a statement is being made."On Wednesday, the MEC for tourism and economic development, Mike Mabuyakhulu, convened a meeting of township businesspeople. He promised "accelerated deadlines to establishing associations and business warehouses that will help people take ownership of various aspects of the value chain". A local, who sat through the entire meeting, and did not want to be named, said: "I

just found it strange that, in the face of such violence, you convene a meeting for business people, who probably have nothing to do with what's going on. You sit them down and make false promises to them. It just felt like they were overcompensating for **something**."

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**April 17, 2015**

**Editorial: Our hate grows: Shame on us all**

**LENGTH:** 885 **words**

**BYLINE:** **Editorial**

**HIGHLIGHT:** The crying need at this moment is for a united stand against these outrages from all prominent South **Africans**.

**SECTION:** **EDITORIALS**



As we move towards celebrating 21 years of South Africa's democracy, many of our citizens appear hellbent on denying our brothers and sisters from elsewhere on the continent, and other hard-working foreigners, the fundamental human rights that the Constitution guarantees us. There is a tragic irony in this. The struggle for those rights was supported, often at considerable sacrifice, by our African neighbours and other states whose nationals are now under attack. How ungrateful we are, and how short our **memories**.

We have squandered the goodwill once lavished on us from across the globe. We have betrayed the foundation laid over so many years by those who dreamed that South Africa would take its place as a leading moral force in the world. Let us be blunt: the violence and looting that we have witnessed in KwaZulu-Natal and elsewhere is a dark stain on our reputation. Mindful of the approaching local government elections and of the need to not appear out of step with their constituency, representatives of the government and the ruling party have spoken with forked tongues on the issue, tut-tutting about violence while expressing a measure of understanding for the attacks. There can be no excuse for or defence of the horrors we are seeing. One does not expect a democratic South Africa to behave like the former apartheid state, where rights violations were routine and routinely defended. One commentator, Elias Munshaya, offered the biting observation on Twitter that while some South Africans were toppling the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, others were trying to protect the borders he helped to cement. King Goodwill Zwelithini's provocative utterances undoubtedly helped fuel the current round of violence, and there is no point in him trying to deny them. By the same token, Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba owes the king no apology for reprimanding him about his remarks. ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe also struck entirely the wrong note by repeating his bizarre

comments about setting up **refugee** camps to process "undocumented" foreigners. Many of those who are being attacked have residence rights or asylum, and are just as entitled to walk South Africa's streets as Mantashe himself. The Mail & Guardian has previously reported on the public xenophobia displayed by Cabinet ministers such as Lindiwe Zulu and Nomvula Mokonyane. Some within the **business community** are equally culpable. They include **President Jacob Zuma's son Edward**, who has refused to apologise for his shameful remarks. Yes, unemployment and economic distress are motivators - but so is a baser envy. Some South Africans are irked by the business competition offered by foreigners and the spectacle of Africans who are more successful than they are. Perhaps because of South Africa's culture of entitlement, the entrepreneurial spirit and hard work so evident in **immigrant** communities has become a source of resentment. Once it is accepted that certain groups fall outside South Africa's constitutional dispensation, all minorities in the country are at risk. As Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada told the Daily Maverick: "Xenophobia is racism." It would not take much for the groundswell against foreigners to be translated into violence against the Indian community, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal, where there is a long and dishonourable tradition of sectarian hatred. There is now an attempt to paint South Africans of Indian origin as "co-conspirators", by suggesting that foreigners are using their warehouses or that "they are working together against us, the Zulu majority". **The crying need at this moment is for a united stand against these outrages from Zuma, Zwelithini himself, leaders of opposition political parties, religious leaders and other prominent South Africans. A national imbizo must be called, where all our leaders share the platform and are unequivocal in their condemnation of the xenophobic outrages - and that message needs to be transmitted to the security forces, too. Cabinet ministers and leading politicians and unionists, from Mantashe**

to Zwelinzima Vavi, must think twice before they speak or use social media to wink at intolerance. The fear, hatred and envy of foreigners is an ongoing reality in South Africa and has to be confronted. There is no sense in playing semantic games, such as the claim that the violence is simple criminality, or the latest dodge by our politicians, who are blaming "Afrophobia". We are not fooled and neither is the outside world. In February 1990, barely two weeks after his release from prison, Nelson Mandela went to conflict-torn KwaZulu-Natal and told 200 000 followers what many of them did not want to hear. The province was beset by conflict, with the Inkatha Freedom Party and members of the mass democratic movement at each other's throats. People were dying in "black-on-black" violence, fuelled by the hidden hand of the apartheid security forces. Mandela showed leadership that day, preaching a

message that was not popular with his followers: "Take your guns, your knives and your pangas and throw them into the sea," he urged - to boos from some in the crowd. This is the sort of courageous stand that is needed now, not the doublespeak and word-mincing we are getting from our current batch of Lilliputian **leaders.**

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

E1 **Edition**

## **No to xenophobia!**

**BYLINE:** Nokuthula Ntuli, Sihle Manda [and Sharika **Regchand**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **1**

**LENGTH:** 781 **words**

AN ESTIMATED 10 000 people joined the KwaZulu-Natal government in a peace march through Durban's streets to denounce xenophobic attacks.

People of different races, ages and religions came from as far as Gauteng to attend the march which started at the Currie's Fountain stadium and ended at the city hall.

However, at the tail-end of the march, which was protected by police, a group had to be dispersed. They said they were not willing to



listen to anyone at the march, and wanted King Goodwill Zwelithini to **address** them.

**Clergymen, political leaders and celebrities** united to denounce the violence which has now plagued the city for more than two weeks. Some of those present included First Lady Thobeka Madiba Zuma, KwaZulu-Natal Premier Senzo Mchunu, Minister of State Security David Mahlobo and leaders from various political organisations.

**Thobeka Zuma called on South Africans to exercise ubuntu and stop the attacks on foreigners** as they were embarrassing SA.

"Put down your weapons and allow for a dialogue on issues that concern you. Violence is not the solution," she said.

Mchunu and Mahlobo offered their condolences to the families of the five who had died in the attacks. They also signed a pledge committing the government to doing everything in its power to restore stability and ensure foreigners were safely reintegrated in their communities.

"We would like to applaud **other African nations** for the role their countries played in the liberation of South Africa. We sincerely apologise to all **foreign nationals** in the country for the attacks they have suffered at the hands of criminals," read Mchunu from the pledge.

**He was applauded by the crowd when he promised security would be tightened,** especially in Durban, as he said tip-offs had been received about some groups that wanted **violence** to continue.

Only a handful of foreigners attended, but at the Currie's Fountain stadium the flags of various African countries fluttered. In stark contrast to this colourful scene, the purpose of the march seemed to have escaped some locals, who insisted foreigners must go as "the king has spoken".

Before the march even started, Umkhonto we Sizwe veterans exchanged blows with a group wearing eThekweni Municipality gear. This was after the group in eThekweni work uniforms booed as KZN Community Safety MEC Willies Mchunu addressed the audience of more than 5 000.

Groups of bystanders along the route shouted "abahambe" (foreigners must go). But despite the antagonism, the march's numbers swelled as others joined in, swelling the peace protest to a police-estimated 10 000 people by the time it reached the city centre.

Shops in Durban's main streets were locked up and hawkers abandoned their trading before the march reached Durban.

One of the groups calling for the **foreigners** to go back home had hired a taxi from Umlazi to come and disrupt the march. Police battled to contain pockets of troublemakers intent on disrupting the march and demanding to be heard by leaders. But the peace marchers were not deterred. They urged onlookers to join in, chanting "wozani, wozani" (join us).

Jabulani Vezi of Umgababa said: "I woke up at 4am and went to the mountain to pray for peace in our province, then I took a taxi to make sure that I was here on time."

**Students from tertiary institutions** ditched their lectures to attend the march. Most said they had friends who were foreigners.

In Pietermaritzburg, **foreigners sought refuge** at a mosque, fearing for their lives after being chased from their homes on Wednesday night since no **refugee** camps had been set up in the capital city.

By yesterday afternoon, more were arriving, afraid of what the night might bring. Many said they were afraid to go to work and back to their houses.

A member of the mosque, who did not wish to be named, said most of the **foreigners** who **sought refuge** lived in the city or informal areas.

He said about **400 people** had arrived at the mosque on Wednesday night. They were accommodated in the hall and given carpets to sleep on. Muslim worshippers rallied together to provide food and blankets.

**The SA Minority Rights Equality Movement** also assisted with food and blankets.

Yesterday, the city remained tense because of fears of xenophobic attacks, but no attacks were reported. Police spokeswoman, Joey Jeevan also said no looting incidents had been reported.

Msunduzi mayor, Chris Ndlela, urged residents to condemn the attacks and to highlight criminal elements that have taken the opportunity to

engage in criminal activities, by looting shops of the foreigners. He added that the municipality's security department was conducting patrols and the police were on the alert.

Watch the video at <http://iol.io/b98m7>

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

E2 **Edition**

**Mozambicans want to stay**

**BYLINE:** Sphelele **Ngubane**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **3**

**LENGTH:** 175 **words**

**Most of the Mozambicans** who had registered to be taken back to their home country from Durban changed their minds yesterday when a bus and truck arrived at the **refugee camps** in Durban to pick them **up**.

A security guard at one of the camps, who did not want to be named, said a number of Mozambicans had disappeared. "The bus left with a few people and the truck still had a lot of space. They don't want to leave," he said.

When The Mercury arrived at the Isipingo camp, there were no Mozambicans around.

Nigerian Amvri Djuma, 32, said Mozambicans had told them that they would rather "risk being killed" in South Africa than go back home.

The bus had been organised by the Mozambique Embassy. Mozambique consul-general Olga Sambo could not be reached for comment.

BBC News reported this week that the Malawi government said it would repatriate its citizens. Information Minister Kondwani Nankhumwa said the first group would go home at the weekend.

"About 420 Malawians

are reportedly living in refugee camps in Durban after fleeing the violence," he said.

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The New Age (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

## We say NO to hatred

**BYLINE:** SIBONGISENI MAPHUMULO,  
XOLANI DLAMINI AND PETER  
RAMOTHWALA

**LENGTH:** 560 words

SOUTH AFRICANS yesterday roared a resounding "No" to xenophobia with President Jacob Zuma leading the chorus from

Parliament, and thousands taking part in a Walk for Peace in Durban.

Social media users took up the strain even though pockets of xenophobic violence was reported in Durban and parts of Johannesburg.

Zuma condemned the attacks saying they violated the values that South Africa embodies.

"We appeal for calm, an end to the violence and restraint," he said. "Criminal elements should not be allowed to take advantage of the concerns of citizens to sow mayhem and destruction. We appeal to our people to support and protect refugees and asylum seekers."

In Durban, an estimated 20000 people took part in the anti-xenophobia peace march from Curries Fountain to City Hall.

Watching from the security of their high-rise flats in the Durban city centre, many foreign nationals opted not to risk joining the march.

"We are scared, what if they (locals) start something. I would have loved to be part of the march but I have my family to think of," Abdul Moosa said, as he looked on from behind a locked gate.

Singing struggle songs and waving to the onlookers while brandishing their banners with words like, "No Hate" and "Say No to Xenophobia", the multitudes walked alongside the province's leaders.

Minister of State Security David Mahlobo said: "Not in our name."

Marcher Nomusa Zwane said: "Enough is enough, the violence and looting must stop. I too feel that there are too many foreigners in this country, but how does humiliating and victimising little kids solve that problem. The violence ends today."

KZN Premier Senzo Mchunu and the country's first lady, Thobeka Madiba Zuma, said the violence of the last two weeks had tarnished the image of the province, its people and the city of Durban.

"Other African countries cannot be our enemy. We must respect one another, foreigners and locals, the world is watching and what is happening does not look good. We must stand up and defend the peace in our province," Mchunu said.

He also warned local and foreign trouble makers. "No street in the city of Durban will be barricaded and no mercy will be given to looters, perpetrators of violence and those found

carrying weapons, regardless of your nationality."

Pro-xenophobia campaigners gathered along the streets trying to disturb the proceedings, chanting "they must go home" and throwing stones and sticks at the police.

One of them, Nkosinathi Khawula, said: "It has come to our attention that the government wants to approach us to accept foreigners into our communities. That will happen over our dead bodies."

But police managed to control the situation by using rubber bullets, batons and water cannons to disperse the crowd.

In Parliament, DA leader Musi Maimane also urged South Africans to rise in defence of foreign nationals.

"We also call upon all leaders, kings and chiefs to be held accountable when making irresponsible statements," he said in reference to Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini who earlier said that foreigners should leave the country.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for the deployment of the South African National Defence Force in order to abate the situation.

Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba said his department had set aside R118m to deal with undocumented foreign nationals.

peterr@thenewage.co.za

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Pretoria News (South **Africa**)

**April** 17, 2015 **Friday**

E1 **Edition**

**Gwede's take on migrants draws fire;**

**But he was echoing ANC policy in wake of xenophobic attacks**

**BYLINE:** Marianne Merten Senior Political **Correspondent**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **2**

**LENGTH:** 421 **words**

AMID the ANC's denunciation of this week's **violence** against foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal - echoing the government's condemnation - controversy erupted over ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe's public comments that South Africa should set up camps at its borders, and that **most foreign nationals were undocumented**.

Yet Mantashe simply articulated the 2012 Mangaung ANC conference resolutions that state: "The government should reconsider its policy relating to centres for **asylum seekers** during consideration of their status" and that "the presence of undocumented **migrants** in the Republic poses an economic and security threat to the country".

The ANC's Mangaung conference resolution for the government to reconsider its policy was made amid a call for tougher border control and criminalisation of "fraudulent acquisition of vital documents" such as IDs.

The ruling party's peace and security resolutions also noted "there is empirical evidence that the **majority of asylum seekers do not qualify for refugee status and protection**".

Although the Lindela repatriation centre is the awaiting-deportation facility for **undocumented immigrants**, there is no current policy of encampment pending processing.

Unlike the government which has shied away from calling the violence xenophobia - after years of describing such violence as criminal, **its narrative this week moved to Afrophobia - the ANC Mangaung resolutions straightforwardly speak of xenophobia**.

**"There should be awareness programmes to combat xenophobia and educate society against narrow nationalism," according to the peace and stability resolutions.**

**Under the heading "xenophobia" in its international relations resolutions, the ANC in December 2012 resolved to "increase awareness among South Africans about the causes and dangers of xenophobia as well as the role foreign nationals play in the country's economy and national life using dialogue, the media and other engagement modalities".**

The resolutions, which firmly place the ANC on the side of South-South co-operation, Pan-Africanism and strong relations with the African Union, also recognise "the rights of international migrants as a vulnerable group of persons and the responsibilities that they have towards their host country".

Thus the ANC should develop a position paper on international migration, immigration and xenophobia.

Also, that it would join trade union federation Cosatu in educating foreign nationals "especially those from the African continent" on their labour rights, particularly the minimum wage.

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Pretoria News (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

**Foreigners to stay put despite attacks**

**BYLINE:** Tankiso Makhetha

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2

**LENGTH:** 284 words

foreigners seeking refugee status in South Africa say they are on edge after the spate of xenophobic attacks.

Hundreds assemble and queue outside the Marabastad Home Affairs reception offices every morning to apply for documentation or renew their papers so they can continue their stay in the country.

They remain adamant that they will not return to their countries of birth despite the attacks that have been spreading and left at least five dead and scores injured.

Lovemore Mudzeni, a Zimbabwean who lives in Ga-Rankuwa, was one of many renewing their papers. He feared for his life and said he was mourning the deaths of those killed in the attacks.

"I am angry and hurt by what is happening because we are all African brothers and sisters. It does not make sense why we are being killed," he said.

Asked if he had considered returning home, Mudzeni said: "I thought about it, but how could I? There is nothing at home. There are no opportunities for jobs. If I go back I will starve to death but my family and myself are not safe here either."

Mudzeni was one of many foreigners who said they were confronted with the difficult choice of returning to their home countries or remain and possibly be murdered by frantic mobs.

Nigerian James Amos who was also at the Home Affairs offices to renew his documents said he was contemplating returning home after

the abuse he had endured in the five years he had spent in South Africa.

"The attacks are a reminder of what happened in 2008. We are not happy. We live in fear every day,

"I am a street vendor in Joburg. I have to do what I do to make sure my family survives, but sometimes I feel like going home. I think it's better to suffer there than to die here."

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

On xenophobia

**LENGTH:** 218 words

**SECTION:** OPINION & EDITORIAL



FELLOW South Africans, Durbanites, this xenophobia is disgusting. This will spread into countrywide chaos.

King Zwelithini should be suspended. **Simple.**

Who will bomb us tomorrow, as in Nigeria and Kenya? - Mike Dhlwayo

ZWELITHINI aside, xenophobia or not, what I'm worried about is seeing Nigerian men saying that they'll retaliate. **You don't mess with brave Zulus in their territory. They don't steal girls and run away. They come straight to you. Please keep quiet and safe in our country.** - Mafa

IT IS embarrassing the way things have turned out. **Why doesn't the government** take a stand and set aside an emergency budget **to sift the illegal foreign nationals** and deport them.

Use abandoned public buildings for camps for those who ran away from wars. - Z Khumbuzi

EVERYBODY was carrying the "bring back our girls" card for the abducted Nigerian

youngsters. Then there was a march about those killed in Garissa in Kenya. Now it's happening under our noses and what are we doing about it? Nothing. Let's stop the hypocrisy. - J Gatsheni

PEOPLE from other African countries must behave and we'll treat them with respect. But if they think South Africans are stupid we'll simply deal with them. No government official ever said to them they must behave when they are in SA. Why not? - Godfrey Lucky **Ledwaba**

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

**Sowetan (South Africa)**

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

**King entitled to his opinion**

**LENGTH:** 373 **words**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**



I CONDEMN the attack on foreign nationals. I also think that King Goodwill Zwelithini must issue a statement to condemn the violence.

Zwelithini is entitled to his opinion, but an opinion can never be an instruction for people to go and attack **others**.

South Africans are generally an angry society for various reasons. We have survived apartheid that left us poor and with small, infertile pieces of land.

We suffered until we attained democracy. We moved forward and we were prepared to be equal with those who abused us.

We were ready to forgive and perhaps forget the past even if democracy didn't mean that what was taken from us unfairly would be given back. We believed that this time we would not be made to feel like visitors or strangers in our own land. But now the foreign nationals are taking that away.

Of course, we have a political and human responsibility to help other African countries, but not to the point where we bring chaos and instability to our own country.

We obviously don't want to have an unplanned, reckless influx of unknown numbers of foreign nationals for reasons that are not particularly clear.

I saw my first **refugee** camp in a movie a long time ago. It was a place of safety, a place where people were given water, food and somewhere to sleep. This is a camp - it's not a permanent home.

Our **refugee** camps are everywhere in the country, and they are permanent.

When Zwelithini realised that his people were having problems relating to foreign nationals, should he have kept quiet?

Where I come from we call kings "Bengba mabu", meaning that they own the land.

If you are a man with a house, wife and kids, you have just enough to host a homeless child or children. But you might have problems if they begin to overcrowd you and want to take more than your own kids.

What a responsible father would do when he sees that his kids are suffering as a result, is create rules to ensure that his kids and the homeless kids don't suffer.

Let's not sit back and wait to criticise and judge those who speak because those who speak –

wrongly or rightly - allow us to understand what society thinks.

Ralph Malatji, by e-mail

OPEN MARKET: A foreign national sits in his spaza shop photo: alan **eason**

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# Sowetan

THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

## Zuma deploys soldiers to help home affairs

BYLINE: Bianca Capazorio

SECTION: CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

LENGTH: 392 words

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma has announced the deployment of South African National Defence Force to work as immigration officers as well as helping at border lines across the country to prevent crime.

Speaking in the National Assembly yesterday when he was condemning the xenophobic attacks that started in KwaZulu-Natal and spread to Gauteng.

Zuma said his administration was bolstering home affairs to enable it to better handle migration issues especially at border posts.

"In this regard, the SANDF will transfer 350 soldiers to Home Affairs, to work as immigration officers at border posts. Furthermore, the SANDF has deployed military personnel along the border line in seven provinces to prevent border crime activities and illegal border crossings," Zuma said.

Zuma said that South Africans had been treated with "generosity and respect by our brothers from Africa" when they had fled apartheid South Africa. He said refugees in South Africa needed to be treated the same way.

He said the perceptions of foreign nationals as illegal, criminal or taking over jobs or ownership of shops, needed to be addressed. Zuma said many of them contributed to the economy, brought scarce skills or were refugees who had fled wars back home.

EFF leader Julius Malema however blamed the president for the violence, saying he created the impression that problems could be solved through violence.

"When you disagreed with the people in Marikana, you killed them," he said. "When the people of Relela protested, you killed them. When the people of Mothutlung were demanding water, you killed them. When [Andries] Tatane protested against this state, you killed him."

Malema said Zuma's son Edward had also contributed to the problem by making statements against foreigners.

The DA's Mmusi Maimane said while xenophobia was not a "political football", youth unemployment and a weak economy were to blame for the anger and frustration which was being taken out on a "small group of people who are being unfairly victimised".

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said: "We are slow to arrest violence when it is targeted against foreigners. Why are we only hearing an executive statement now?"

fingered: President Jacob Zuma faced a scathing attack from the Economic Freedom Fighters in parliament yesterday over the xenophobic attacks in the country PHOTO: Adrian de Kock

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The Star (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

Illegal foreigners strain our economy

**SECTION:** Pg. 22

**LENGTH:** 280 words

The hysteria running high in the country requires objective analysis not only about the unjustified killings and arson, but how to solve the problem and what contributed to it.

First, it is costing this country billions of rand to keep illegal foreigners here. In addition, we have just learnt that South Africa is donating R50 billion a year to neighbouring countries - with no strings attached. It is unsustainable.

Foreigners have largely permeated the overcrowded townships, setting up spaza shops at every corner. Health facilities are reeling under the burden of extra people. South Africans suffer from amnesia - we forget about the numerous cases of our girls who got jobs abroad through foreigners, only to get themselves locked up and languishing in foreign prisons, some even executed.

We forget that we have seen training camps being set up in this country with the aim of going back to their countries to overthrow a legitimate government. The case of Mark Thatcher comes to mind.

Our fauna is being decimated.

The foreign underworld is running rampant. We keep these people in our jails at high costs. It is unacceptable. Where will it stop? We are faced with a yawning current account deficit and the threat of being relegated to junk status.

No country allows wholesale entry and exit of people from other countries. When I visited a friend in the Czech Republic, I entered with a valid passport. I had to report at the local police concerning my presence, the reasons for my visit and how long my stay would be.

So we should control our borders, put all illegal foreigners into camps.

Say no to xenophobia and correct the cause, for goodness sake.

LB Angoma

Kelvin, Sandton

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The Star (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

Securing SA's borders will stem xenophobia

**LENGTH:** 186 words

**SECTION:** Pg. 22

It is a primary and fundamental responsibility of government (any government) to control its borders against illegal immigration.

Xenophobic attacks are a direct consequence of this government's failure to effectively carry out this responsibility.

It takes R50 to bribe a border official. There are millions of illegal immigrants in South Africa. Couple this with the corruption that exists within Home Affairs and you have the recipe for a perfect storm.

There is no country on Earth with a higher pro-rata influx of illegal immigrants than South Africa.

It's no surprise that our infrastructure is collapsing and that basic service delivery is failing. It should also be of no surprise that our locals have had enough and are rebelling.

There are stringent laws that govern the employment of illegal immigrants and employers generally do not take the risk. Crime in South Africa is therefore directly proportional to illegal immigration.

Only once this government has illegal immigration and corruption under control and has rounded up all illegal immigrants will the xenophobia stop.

Leonardo Biccari

President Park, Midrand

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The Star (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

## Controversy over border camp idea of Mantashe

**LENGTH:** 361 words

**BYLINE:** Marianne Merten

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 4

AMID the ANC's denunciation of this week's violence against foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal, controversy erupted over ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe's public comments that South Africa should establish camps at its borders, and that most foreign nationals were undocumented.

Yet, Mantashe simply articulated the 2012 Mangaung ANC conference resolutions, which state: "The government should reconsider its policy relating to centres for **asylum seekers** during consideration of their status", and "the **presence of undocumented migrants** poses an **economic** and **security threat** to the country".

The ANC Mangaung conference resolution for the government to reconsider its policy was made amid a **call for tougher border control** and **criminalisation of "fraudulent acquisition of vital documents"**, like IDs.

**The peace and security resolutions** also noted "there is empirical evidence that most **asylum seekers** do not qualify for **refugee status** and **protection**".

**Although the Lindela repatriation centre** is the awaiting-deportation facility for **undocumented immigrants**, there is no policy of encampment pending processing.

Unlike the government, which has shied away from calling the violence xenophobia, the ANC Mangaung resolutions speak directly of xenophobia.

"There should be awareness programmes to combat **xenophobia** and educate |society against narrow nationalism."

Under the heading "**xenophobia**" in its international relations resolutions, in December

2012, the ANC resolved to "increase awareness of South Africans about the causes and dangers of **xenophobia** as well as the role **foreign nationals** **play in the country's economy**".

The resolutions, which firmly place the ANC on the side of South-South co-operation, pan-Africanism and strong relations with the African Union, also recognise "the **rights of international migrants** **as a vulnerable group of persons** and the responsibilities that they have towards their host country".

Thus the ANC should develop a position paper on international migration, immigration and xenophobia and join Cosatu in educating foreign nationals, "especially those from the African |continent", on labour rights, particularly the minimum **wage**.

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The Star (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

**S1 Edition**

**war and peace;**

## **Calls for restraint amid xenophobia march tension in Durban**

**BYLINE:** Staff **Reporters**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **1**

**LENGTH:** 761 **words**

Thousands of people joined the KwaZulu-Natal government in denouncing the xenophobic attacks sweeping Durban in a peace march during which police dispersed a group demanding to be addressed by King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The group, at the tail-end, were not willing to listen to anyone except Zwelithini.

Tension threatened to bubble over before the march started, with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) veterans briefly exchanging blows with a group wearing eThekweni municipality **gear**.

This was after the group, wearing eThekweni work uniforms, booed while KZN Community Safety MEC Willie Mchunu addressed about 5 000 people.

In Gauteng, incidents of xenophobia were reported yesterday in the Makause informal settlement near Germiston and in Benoni.

An Ethiopian man broke down in tears as he recalled how a mob attacked them and looted their shop in the settlement.

Gudiso Landela said he was forced to clean up the mess that the group left. His younger

brother, Tamrad, is recovering in hospital after they stabbed and injured him. Gudiso sustained an injury to one of his legs during the attack.

Struggling to speak as he fought back tears, Gudiso described how about 20 locals from Makause broke into his shop and started assaulting them.

"They came into the shop and started stealing our stock," the distraught man said.

"When my brother and I told them to leave, they took out a knife and stabbed him."

Gudiso and Tamrad have temporary **asylum-seeker** permits and have **been working legally** in the country for the past four years.

They are among **many foreigners** in the region who had reportedly been attacked and forced to flee their homes.

**Several foreign business owners** were seen loading their stock from their shops onto the back of trucks and bakkies. They scrambled to ensure they did not leave anything behind while doing their best to clear up as quickly as possible.

The situation in the informal settlement was calm yesterday, and the locals looked on as the foreigners fled to safety. There was a large police presence, while many other officers stood on the perimeter.

Ekurhuleni mayor Mondli Gungubele, who visited the settlement yesterday to quell tensions, said a strong police presence was imperative to fight the attacks. The metro has also kept a place ready for any foreigners displaced by the violence. Others have been sleeping outside Primrose police station.

Gungubele said: "There is no reason to believe that a collective movement is responsible for these attacks. The ordinary people want them to

stay and their business are valuable in the community."

In KZN, people of different races, ages and religions attended the march that started at Curries Fountain stadium and ended at the city hall. The demonstrators came as far as Gauteng to show solidarity.

Clergymen, political leaders and celebrities united to denounce the violence that has disrupted the city for more than two weeks.

First lady Thobeka Madiba-Zuma, KZN Premier Senzo Mchunu, State Security Minister David Mahlobo and various political organisations leaders attended.

Flags of various African countries fluttered from all corners of the stadium, but only a handful of foreigners attended.

The march's message, however, appeared to have fallen on deaf ears, with some locals insisting that foreigners must go as "the king has spoken".

Madiba-Zuma called on South Africans to exercise ubuntu and to stop the attacks as they were embarrassing the country.

"Put down your weapons and allow for dialogue on issues that are of concern to you. Violence is not the solution," she said.

Mchunu and Mahlobo sent their condolences to the families of the five people who died in the attacks.

They also signed a pledge committing the government to do everything in its power to restore stability in the province and to ensure

that foreigners were safely integrated into communities.

"We would like to applaud other African nations for the role they played in the liberation of South Africa. We sincerely apologise to all the foreign nationals in the country for the attacks they have suffered at the hands of criminals," Mchunu said, reading from the pledge.

He was applauded by the crowd when he promised that they would tighten security around the country, especially in Durban, as they had received tip-offs that some groups wanted the violence to continue.

Shops in Durban's main streets were locked up and hawkers abandoned their trading stalls before the marchers reached Durban, and they remained closed for the day.

While many joined in the march, some bystanders shouted "abahambe" (foreigners must go).

See Page 4

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# The Times

The Times (South Africa)

April 17, 2015 Friday

## Zulu King accused of hate speech

**BYLINE:** Katharine Child

**SECTION:** HUMAN INTEREST

**LENGTH:** 174 words

ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini is facing charges of hate speech at the South African Human Rights Commission.

The charges were laid by Tim Flack, spokesman for the SA National Defence Force Union.

Flack said people using Twitter to incite xenophobic violence were engaging in "hairdryer politics, which is blowing a lot of hot air and achieving nothing".

So Flack said he decided to "do something".

He said: "The king needs to account and be charged for inciting this violence."

Speaking in Pongola last month, Zwelithini said: "We ask that immigrants take their bags and go where they come from."

Zwelithini initially denied the statement and later accused the media of misinterpreting his words to sell newspapers.

A video of the king speaking has been viewed thousands of times on news sites and widely shared on social media.

On Twitter Alie Komape said: "King Zwelithini must be arrested for inciting violence!".

@mradebeutre said there was nothing wrong with the king's sentiment and it was just the way most South Africans felt.

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# The Times

The Times (South **Africa**)

**April 17, 2015 Friday**

## **Poverty and betrayed expectations are fuelling **xenophobia****

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 308 **words**

WHEN the economy heads south, the first targets are foreigners, who are blamed for job losses, crime and an assortment of other societal challenges that locals can rattle off.

In 2012, Nigerians cried xenophobia when Ghanaians closed their businesses in that country amid claims that they took jobs from **locals**.

In Libya, black Africans have come under attack from locals who accuse them of flooding their cities with cheap goods.

Things became worse when the West imposed sanctions on the Gaddafi regime and the economy took a dive. African **migrants** were the first to be targeted and driven out of the country.

Today South Africa finds itself in the same space. The poor are fighting for economic space and the situation is getting worse as the economy falters.

Although there can be no excuse for the violence meted out against foreigners the tension on our streets should be viewed holistically.

South Africa needs to look at how other countries are managing economic **migrants**.

The sporadic xenophobic incidents here are happening far too often.

Statements by elected leaders fail to address the real causes of xenophobia.

Why are these xenophobic incidents happening in areas that are mostly poor? Why are only Africans targeted?

The answer lies in the economic mess the poor find themselves in. The scramble for resources and the naked class divide lies at the root of what we see today.

**Immigrants** who live in affluent suburbs and who can afford decent housing rarely become targets of xenophobia.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, who has been accused of sparking the xenophobic outbreak through a reckless comment, holds the key today. The pattern these attacks have taken suggests that his leadership is more urgent than that of other politicians.

President Jacob Zuma and his ministers must come up with real solutions and stop their egg **dance**.

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**Business Day (South Africa)**

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

**Business Day Edition**

## **Rather than fan flames, MPs must call department to **order****

**BYLINE:** David **Cote**

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 1161 **words**

Home affairs

Rather than fan flames, MPs must call department to order

PARLIAMENT's portfolio committee on home affairs released a statement last week - titled, Flouting of immigration regulations a concern - in which it warned foreign nationals in SA not to commit crimes and put & in jeopardy the basis on which they are in SA& The committee quoted instances from the recent mugging of South African Broadcasting Corporation journalists to foreigners' & alleged& involvement in the killing of police officers along the N3 highway near

Johannesburg. The committee (or perhaps the chairperson) used these examples to & highlight the challenges of foreign nationals breaking laws of the country& It needs to be said that this trend among our government leaders to blame foreign nationals for crime is not rooted in fact but rather in fear. Foreign nationals are no more involved in crime than any other segment of our society.

Allegations that **asylum seekers** enter for financial reasons are for government officials to determine, not the committee.

Unfortunately, when crime is committed by non-South Africans, media reports usually mention the accused's immigration status as somehow being relevant, which it is not. This creates the impression that it is mainly foreigners committing crime. Crime is a multifaceted phenomenon, here and elsewhere, and attempts to put the blame on foreign nationals for the high crime rate does not detract from the failings of our society to deal with inequality and a criminal justice system under threat from a lack of resources and political interference.

Oddly, the committee, which is the watchdog of the Department of Home Affairs, has not issued a single statement about the department's near-

daily flouting of the Immigration Act and its regulations, the **Refugees** Act and its regulations, and the Citizenship Act.

This includes the unlawful detention and deportation of **asylum seekers and refugees**, corruption at the country's **refugee** reception offices, poor decision making by the **Refugee** Appeal Board, unlawful blocking of identity documents, exceedingly high visa fees and the regular failure to abide by court orders, for example, to release unlawfully detained children or reopen **refugee** reception offices.

In fact, the committee was markedly silent when the Supreme Court of Appeal handed down a judgment last month in which it severely criticised **Home Affairs Director-General Mkuseli Apleni** for misleading the court about the decision to close the **refugee** reception office in Port Elizabeth, failing to abide by two court orders requiring the office to be reopened and, particularly significant for the committee, misleading Parliament about the opening of a new office at Lebombo near the Mozambican border crossing at Komatipoort. Not a peep.

Stakeholders and **refugee** groups in Port Elizabeth have obtained two court orders in that city requiring home affairs to reopen the **refugee** reception office.

The office was closed to new applicants with one day's notice in 2011 after the director-general had taken a decision to close the office with no public consultation or consultation with the standing committee on **refugee** affairs as required by the **Refugees** Act. That decision was taken on appeal but the Supreme Court of Appeal refused to even hear the matter, saying there was no prospect of success.

While that appeal process was under way, Apleni made a & new& decision to close the office but did not inform the court or the community until four months later. That was also found to be unlawful by the High Court the following year but that court order was ignored

and the matter taken on appeal. This time, the Supreme Court of Appeal did hear the matter, dismissed the appeal and ordered home affairs to reopen the office by July 15 this year and to submit monthly progress reports to stakeholders on the progress in reopening the office.

The court was particularly critical of a misleading answer from home affairs about the opening of the office at Lebombo. When asked whether an office would be open at Lebombo, and if so, when and how much it would cost, the home affairs minister responded, & No& When confronted on this answer due to the central role Lebombo is supposed to play in replacing closed offices, the director-general responded that the answer was misinterpreted because an unspecified parliamentary convention requires answers only for the present financial year. The court did not buy this argument and found misleading Parliament in this way was a dangerous precedent for our constitutional democracy.

The committee has not issued a single statement about the flouting of our Constitution. Perhaps, despite this damning judgment, the committee's failure to comment should not be very surprising.

At a committee meeting on March 3, the chairperson protected Apleni from answering any questions about the numerous court orders invalidating the various decisions to close **refugee** reception offices in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town with no alternative offices opened. Mr Apleni hid behind the sub judice rule (which is in and of itself mostly defunct after the Supreme Court of Appeal ruling in Mide Television) because he did not want to give contradictory statements from what he said in court papers. Contradictory? Can we therefore trust what he said in the papers if he is worried about contradicting himself?

The chairperson also assisted him by blocking questions about the cost of the centre at

Lebombo. This centre, which has been on the cards since 2011 and which the director-general has rigorously pursued according to his court papers, apparently does not yet have a price tag. South African (and non-South African) taxpayers will apparently have to wait until it is built to know how much it cost.

The role of a parliamentary oversight committee is to conduct oversight of a government department. When that government department blatantly lies to it and breaks the law by not abiding by court orders, the committee should have a thing or two to say about it.

Rather, this committee issues dangerous statements in an environment of tense xenophobic violence and riot police dispersing law-abiding (foreign national) protesters in Durban.

This is highly irresponsible and is, quite frankly, putting people's lives at risk.

Commentary is the soul of parliamentary democracy and while debating everyone's concerns about the general state of crime in SA

is important, we ask that the committee also express its concerns about the department's unlawful activities and, instead of shielding a director-general who has shown himself to be economic with the truth, ask him the tough questions and make him responsible for his actions.

Then the committee will be playing the oversight role that the Constitution mandates it to.

& 8226;Cote heads the Strategic Litigation Programme at Lawyers for Human Rights.

Foreign nationals are no more involved in crime than any other segment of our **society**

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Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

**April** 16, 2015 **Thursday**

E1 **Edition**

**Steps against hate crimes** **overdue**

**LENGTH:** 259 **words**

**SECTION:** Pg. **12**

Despite ongoing efforts by civil society and the government to curb **hate crimes like xenophobia**, further stern steps must be taken

to address discriminatory violence in South **Africa**.

Every citizen needs to acknowledge that xenophobia does exist and that it is a crime and must be condemned. Like other forms of crime, xenophobic violence threatens social cohesion and economic growth.

Perpetrators of, especially, discriminatory crimes frequently go unpunished, which sends a message that foreigners, **refugees and immigrants** can be attacked with impunity.

Stern measures are needed to address hate crimes and to also send a clear message that xenophobic violence will not be tolerated.

Furthermore, to ease tension and eradicate xenophobia, strategies should be put in place to help promote peaceful co-existence between all.

In addition, a commission must be set up to address the root causes of hate crimes vis-À - vis the current wave of violence against foreigners that we are witnessing.

Statements and speeches from political parties and MPs need to translate into visible action. Most importantly, businesses and the

government should work together to create job opportunities for the millions of unemployed who are living in extreme poverty.

South African citizens should not display myopic tendencies; a few decades ago, it was through the magnanimity of these very foreigners' governments that South Africans - more specifically, these perpetrators of xenophobic violence - can today live in a democratically free South Africa.

MOHAMED SAEED

**Pietermaritzburg**

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Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

E1 **Edition**

**City foreigners live in fear as attacks spread;**

## Locals brace themselves after deadly xenophobic rage hits Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Joburg

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 801 words

FEAR and panic swept through the streets of Pietermaritzburg like wildfire yesterday following isolated lootings of foreign-owned shops in the CBD and surrounding suburbs, while foreigners closed their shops in the Joburg CBD in fear of possible attacks.

Cape Town foreigners are also bracing themselves as violent attacks spread across the country.

Police confirmed that a group of about 20 South Africans went on the rampage in Pietermaritzburg, looting shops and intimidating foreign shop owners.

Terrified shop owners, local and foreign, were forced to close up and barricade their businesses.

Reporters from the Daily News, sister paper of the Cape Argus, saw about 30 people armed with knobkerries and sticks.

They struck cars gridlocked in traffic with their weapons, screaming at white and Indian motorists to "f\*\*\* off" and chanting "Africa is for Africans".

An extra 800 police officers have been deployed in Durban where at least five people have been left dead, including a 14-year-old, and more than a 1 000 immigrants have fled their homes.

Many have been beaten, burned and had their businesses looted and vandalised during the attacks.

State security spokesman Brian Dube said all the flare-ups countrywide were being monitored "as we hear about them".

"Everything is managed by the information made possible by the police on the ground."

There have been 74 arrests so far for murder, public violence, business robbery, theft, and possession of firearms and ammunition.

A peace march will be held in Durban today, led by Premier Senzo Mchunu, and is expected to attract 10 000 people.

But foreigners are nervous, including those in Cape Town.

Celestine Kamdem from Maitland, who said he left Cameroon five years ago, believes the violence could spread here.

"We are scared it might come here and we feel bad for those in Durban. Those who are doing these things forget that some day their children or bothers and sisters may want to travel overseas.

"I am afraid because it could be me. I don't know what tomorrow may hold and I have a family, a wife and children to think about. What happens if I get a call to say that something happened at home, while I am at work?"

Gilles Bapynga, who lives in Milnerton and owns an art stall on Greenmarket Square, said South Africans seem to have forgotten that when their country was in trouble, they looked for help from neighbouring countries.

"I won't say the people are xenophobic, but the government is xenophobic. The government is involved in this because they are not taking care of it..."

Bapynga, who left the Democratic Republic of the Congo for South Africa 15 years ago, said that during apartheid he used to send money to charities in in South Africa to help underprivileged children go to school.



"The reason is they are lazy. They don't want to work, they don't want to go to school and they don't want to look for a job. When they do get a job they say it is not enough."

Bapynga and fellow stall owner Lilliane Mukamgwa, also from the DRC, said if she had a choice she would be back home.

"Most of us ran away from problems like war. When you leave something it means that something really bad pushed you out. There are still things we miss, like different food and our country, but we cannot go back."

Mukamgwa said that since the attacks in Durban started her children ask her where they will go next.

"I just tell them that I do not know. I have been here for 15 years and I am also South African."

Mukamgwa's friend, Grace Kimani, from Kenya, said back home they lived with people from all over the world, even South Africans, and they co-existed happily.

"I have always heard the word xenophobia and I never knew what it meant. In my country we never had xenophobia, but South Africans have shown me what the word means."

Kimani said there was no war in her country but she moved here because of "things like al-Shabaab".

Sharing harrowing stories of massacres during the wars that they saw and political instability in their countries they fled from, the common belief

among foreigners living in Cape Town is that they, too, have the right to be here and that the attacks are senseless.

Chairman of the Somali Community Board South Africa Amir Sheikh said they were helping those affected as much as they could.

"There is no quick solution for this, but we know the hot spots and we are always monitoring them for anything that may flare up. We don't get much support from the government, but we do as much as we can to help those affected."

Sheikh said that compared with the attacks on foreigners in January, these were not as bad for Somalis. However, "it is something that affects us all. We help others like Indians and Pakistanis and so on. We do not discriminate".

The Royal Mandela house as well as the ANC in the province have condemned the **attacks**.

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Cape Times (South **Africa**)

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**



## E1 Edition

**Country on brink...****SECTION:** Pg. 8**LENGTH:** 291 words

THE Congress of the People (Cope) is very saddened by the continuous attacks on foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal. These African-on-African attacks are undermining our push for African solidarity.

Our view is that His Majesty King Zwelithini must go to the affected areas and address the people. He must urge them to stop these unwarranted attacks on economic migrants. He must also reiterate and re-emphasise his condemnation of the looting of foreign-owned shops.

The damage that these attacks is causing to the image of South Africa is immeasurable and irreparable. The enormous legacy of Nelson Mandela is being eroded. The hard work he undertook to reintegrate us with African and world communities is being shattered. The dream of an African Renaissance lies in ruins.

Violence and looting are becoming deeply embedded among many people who feel economically excluded. Today, it is the foreign-owned shops. Tomorrow it will be shops and businesses owned by fellow South Africans.

Our institutions of state and all private sector roleplayers must act urgently.

The failure to transform the apartheid-inherited townships is an abiding fault line in our society. This failure is threatening to spark a volcanic eruption. We must act with the utmost urgency. It is now reported that some countries are making arrangements to rescue their citizens.

From 2009, Cope has highlighted the inability of President Zuma to provide ethical, decisive leadership. His continuation in office will see the destruction of our institutions, the weakening of our democracy and an increase in lawlessness.

Let us all take a stand against the looting. If looting and xenophobic violence is not nipped in the bud, all of South Africa will suffer.

Dennis Bloem

Cope Spokesperson

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## FOCUS - 205 of 500 DOCUMENTS

**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South Africa)

April 16, 2015 Thursday

**All of Africa, not just SA, filled with different races****SECTION: OPINION & EDITORIAL****LENGTH: 687 words**

AFRICA is a land mass, a continent. It doesn't define a people, a culture, a race or an ethnic identity.

You don't have to be a student of history to know that there are many people with different origins, cultures, ideologies, religions, racial backgrounds and ethnicity who make up the population of this vast continent.

In the north of Africa the people around the Mediterranean Sea have for millennia had a closer association with Europe than with the rest of Africa.

The best known ancient civilisation is that of the pharaohs, while later the Phoenicians' influence extended around the Mediterranean. The Berbers are a Caucasian people ethnically

indigenous to North Africa west of the Nile Valley.

Ancient Carthage, based in what is now Tunisia, was a civilisation that included much of what is now southern Spain. The Islamic Moors from Morocco also ruled in most of the Iberian Peninsula for more than two centuries.

The Arab slave trade carried on for more than a millennium, with slaves coming from north Africa, the horn of Africa and southeast Africa - as well as from Europe.

Two hundred years before the Portuguese ravaged them, there were thriving city empires on the east coast of Africa that derived their riches from trade across the Indian Ocean. Farther south there is strong evidence of a Dravidian influence on the language of the San peoples, while the Chinese also left their mark in southern Africa.

In Mali, Timbuktu flourished from the trade in salt, gold, ivory and slaves, and it became a world centre of Islamic learning from the 13th to the 17th century.

Then there are smaller groups such as the Beta Israel in Ethiopia, while more recently European colonialism has seen a large influx of settlers into many parts of Africa; Indians were also

brought in to construct the Uganda railway and to work on sugar cane fields.

Through all these periods the people have mixed and intermarried, resulting in groups with very diverse backgrounds. Of course, it is also important to acknowledge that the latest research identifies the south coast of South Africa as the origin of all homo sapiens.

Former president Thabo Mbeki's famous "I am an African" speech does not define what he meant by being an African. He speaks of being formed of the **migrants** who left Europe, and states that in my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East.

It seems that he regards an African as someone who can identify with the continent, and he describes his belief in the capacity of all such people. There is no indication that race or ethnicity play a part in being an African.

So why is there this emphasis on skin colour and ethnicity in South Africa? Particularly when our constitution states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

The answer is patently obvious: it suits politicians and their ilk to divide up the nation into perceived or imagined groups, and to then give their own particular grouping an advantage over others in order to engender greater loyalty.

The Nats were adept at this, using skin colour and language to separate people by law. Now it suits the ANC government to dish out privileges to the black groupings within South African society because that is where their support base lies. The EFF has had to look at a smaller

grouping of discontented black people whom they are mobilising as "our people".

In the end it's all about divide and rule, and none of it benefits this great country. It is sad that we cannot reach a stage where people are regarded as individuals, each with the potential to achieve.

Instead, every effort is made to separate people on the basis of race, whereas it is clear that in each grouping there are advantaged and disadvantaged people, achievers and non-achievers. A person's character and capabilities cannot be ascertained from appearance.

Interestingly, neither the old South African ID book nor the new smart ID card appear to have any place where the race of a citizen is listed. How then is one to know into which racial grouping one falls?

Dr Eckart Schumann, Humewood, Port Elizabeth

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**Mail&Guardian**

Mail & **Guardian****April 16, 2015****Rights violation charge laid against Zulu king****BYLINE:** Jenni **Evans****SECTION:** **NATIONAL****LENGTH:** 1106 **words****HIGHLIGHT:** Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini faces another charge of hate speech and violating human rights - this time by the SA National Defence **Union**.

Tim Flack, famously booted out of a Parliament committee meeting in 2013 for wearing shorts, said he was spurred into action after watching complaints on Twitter that not enough was being done to stop xenophobic violence in South Africa by the country's Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba. He said they were rounding on Gigaba's spokesperson Mayihlome Tshwete and getting "big mouthed and sitting around having tea" but not doing anything about it. "I decided I should probably also not be just tweeting about it, I should do something myself," said Flack, who is part of the Western Cape organiser of the SA National Defence Union. "It seems that couch activism and having hashtags doesn't do anything." He decided to go ahead and lay the charge online on the SA Human Rights Commission's website, for allegedly inciting violence, and sedition. He said the

commission acknowledged his complaint, telling him it had been referred to its KwaZulu-Natal office. The rights Flack alleges were violated by the king include the rights to dignity, security, life, movement and residence, contained in the Bill of Rights. This followed reports of a speech he made in Pongola, KwaZulu-Natal, towards the end of March in which the king complained about crime and dirty streets. Saying, "forgive me but I must speak", according to an eNCA translation of the clip from Zulu, he said, reportedly, that **immigrants** should "take their bags and go". "So I cited those [rights] and mentioned that I believed he had incited xenophobic attacks and destabilised portions of the country." "I want him to be criminally charged for this, and he needs to be held accountable in terms of the **law**."

He can't expect there to be no repercussions. "SAHRC spokesperson Isaac Mangena could not immediately confirm Flack's complaint, but said he had just returned from an SAHRC trip to KwaZulu-Natal, which included a visit to the king's office for a similar complaint received a few weeks ago. He would not say who had laid that complaint, nor the outcome of the meeting at the king's office. City Press reported that king said his words had been lost in translation and that he had been misquoted. Mangena said SAHRC team had visited camps housing displaced people and lamented the poor conditions there, which included two children being taken to hospital by ambulance to be treated for diarrhoea. "The situation is grave. It is very sad. The places that these people are staying at are not really meant for a long period stay. There are concerns about health, especially women and children." The commission called on authorities to make sure they are properly housed. Mangena said there had been simmering tensions in KwaZulu-Natal

for a long time - mostly around businesses, and the looting was evidence that poverty was playing an important role in it. Can't blame the king

King Zwelithini is not to blame for the recent xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal, a cultural expert said on Wednesday. Speaking to the City Press, University of KwaZulu-Natal's Professor Sihawukele Ngubane said the ongoing spate of xenophobic attacks could not be placed solely on the king's shoulders. "I believe that people have used the speech he made at Pongola to fulfil ambitions that had long since been burning." "There has been no reason at all for these acts to be committed here; it is just something people wanted to do and they are doing it under the pretence of the words of the king." Ngubane agreed that the context of the speech made by Zwelithini had not been given full consideration, leading to the blame being put on the king. "Traditionally the king has the highest authority over his nation, which is the nation of the Zulus." "In the past when the king made a pronouncement it was considered with high regard by the people. His word was final." "Since then, however, the king has made many pronouncements, most of which have been completely disregarded," he said. Ngubane added that the king had made a number of calls with regard to social issues that have been devastating KwaZulu-Natal, but none of these were taken seriously. "These acts are wrong. I condemn them." "As Africans on this continent we need to unite and speak against this," said Ngubane. Stop the killing - Zuma

President Jacob Zuma called for an end to the killing linked to the xenophobic attacks on Wednesday that has left five people dead in the Durban area, and put parts of Johannesburg on edge. "I think this now must stop, because we cannot continue killing one another," said Zuma in a pre-recorded message broadcast countrywide on public radio and television channels from Wednesday afternoon. "What is happening in our country is not acceptable,"

said Zuma on the SABC Afrikaans news. "We condemn this that people are attacked, and killed. We cannot accept that when there are challenges, we then use violence, particularly to our brothers and sisters from the continent. We have said before, that when we were in trouble, they helped us to fight our own liberation. They did not chase us away. And, therefore, it is important for us to bear that in mind." He said government was aware of the "frustrations" people in South Africa had been voicing. "Perhaps as government we have not been very quick in addressing these issues." He had asked three ministers to address the "issue" and to find ways of avoiding friction so that people would not take their frustrations out on foreigners. Finding a way to 'co-exist'

He conveyed his condolences to the victims of xenophobia, and to those who had lost their loved ones. "As Africans, as people who are belonging to the same continent we need to find a way and the government is working hard to find a way where there will be co-existence, properly without depriving people of certain opportunities, these matters must be discussed properly." "We have seen the anger, we accept that people are frustrated, we are calling for calm, that we should solve these problems." State Security Minister David Mahlobo said: "Don't let people use our name to commit criminal acts in our country, whether you are South African or a foreign national. We have heard that local traders say that foreigners are taking their jobs. We want to tell you that we are on top of the situation, we know that we are dealing with a big problem. Meanwhile, about 20 foreign nationals arrived at the Primrose police station on Wednesday night saying they were scared, Gauteng police said after an afternoon of attacks and vehicle stonings in Johannesburg." "The group of foreign nationals went to the police station saying they are afraid for their lives," said Lieutenant-Colonel Lungelo Dlamini. - News.24.com

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 16, 2015 Thursday

E1 Edition

## **Calls for protection of Malawians as repatriation swings into action**

**BYLINE:** Raphael Tenthani MercuryForeign Service

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2

**LENGTH:** 501 words

Blantyre: The first batch of Malawian xenophobia victims are expected to be repatriated from South Africa on Sunday, a Malawian government spokesman has disclosed.

Meanwhile, the Malawian government has called on continental and regional bodies to intervene in the worsening situation.

"According to latest official reports from the offices of the Malawian consulate and High Commission to South Africa, as of Tuesday, about 420 Malawians were reported to have been affected and were in temporary camps in South Africa," Information Minister Kondwani Nankhumwa told a press conference in the commercial capital, Blantyre, yesterday.

He said the number of Malawians who had been affected "is expected to rise".

Nankhumwa said the Malawian government had set up two transit camps, one in Blantyre for victims from the southern region and another in the capital, Lilongwe, for victims from the central and northern regions.

He said most of the victims had lost almost all their property, including travel documents, in the attacks.

The Malawian consulate and the high commissioner's office in South Africa, he said, were working hand in hand with the South African government in monitoring and assessing the situation.



"The Malawian mission in South Africa is conducting the screening process which includes identification of individuals in order to fast-track border crossing as well as identification of an individual's home of origin," he said, adding: "The Malawi Government is committed to ensuring the safe return of all Malawians who have been affected by the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa."

Nankhumwa also said the Malawian government was dismayed by the xenophobia attacks in South Africa and had urged Pretoria to protect **foreigners**.

"This is unfortunate coming at a time we are working on regional integration. We urge the government of South Africa to protect foreigners," he said.

The minister also called on continental and regional bodies to intervene.

"We urge SADC and AU to intervene," he said.

Nankhumwa said Lilongwe would officially write to AU Commission chairwoman Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma asking her to intervene.

Nankhumwa said officially, so far, only three Malawians had been reported to be seriously injured.

Some Malawians have, however, been calling the Independent Foreign Service in Blantyre from South Africa with accounts of Malawians being butchered before their own eyes.

"I witnessed a friend of mine, Roderick Masanja, from Mangochi, being doused by petrol and being set alight in Durban on Tuesday," said a caller identifying himself as Samuel Idrissa.

Idrissa said he was based in Johannesburg, but had travelled to the port city to try to rescue his friends.

Minister Nankhumwa told the Independent Foreign Service the government would investigate the claims through the Malawi mission and the Malawi High Commission in South Africa.

"But, officially, we have no confirmed **deaths involving Malawians**," he insisted.

Many Malawian young men trek to South Africa in search of **work**.

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

## E1 Edition

**Some refugees are sleeping in the open****BYLINE:** Nokuthula Ntuli |and Sihle Manda**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2**LENGTH:** 526 words

Hundreds of foreigners are sleeping on mattresses out in the cold in emergency camps set up in Isipingo, Greenwood Park and Chatsworth because the marquees are overcrowded.

The numbers of those seeking refuge at the camps has increased since the start of xenophobic attacks in townships around Durban two weeks ago.

Daniel Dunia, the camp coordinator in Isipingo, blamed the increase in the number of "refugees" on the attacks spreading to other areas, including KwaMashu.

"With new attacks we get more people coming in, so we either need to get more marquees or new camps need to be established," he said

He added that more than 10 people were coming into the Isipingo camp daily.

"Organisations like the Al-Imdaad Foundation are bringing us food and mattresses for newcomers every day, but the marquees can only accommodate so many."

Dunia said a group of more than 30 men had made space for the women in the marquees, and they were sleeping outside.

Cold

He said the nights were particularly cold, and rain on Wednesday night had forced the foreigners to stand inside the marquees for hours.

The Chatsworth camp has the highest number of foreigners, and dozens were reportedly sleeping outside.

There seemed to be a consensus among foreigners that either the AU or UN should intervene because the situation had got out of control.

Congolese Shako Kuminga, who is at the Isipingo camp, said they were tired of political leaders making statements but not taking a decisive stance on the attacks.

"I don't know how they (political leaders) can say the situation is still under control when everyone can see that we have reached crisis point.

"We have people sleeping outside, children missing school and adults missing work, and the numbers are increasing."

He said they had become "two-time" refugees. They had fled from their homes because of wars and economic instability, but they were now refugees from South African townships because of xenophobia.

Some foreigners at the Chatsworth camp yesterday said they wanted to leave the country.

Samson Maononga, from Malawi, said foreigners at the camps appreciated the government's efforts to assist them, but "people are uneasy".

"We need to know what's happening. For how much longer can we carry on living like this?"



He said **numerous foreigners** were considering going back to their countries.

The Chatsworth camp co-ordinators, accompanied by ANC KZN MPL Maggie Govender, had a heated exchanged with DA MPs, MPLs and councillors who visited the camp yesterday.

Camp co-ordinators said **some foreigners** **had complained about their privacy being violated.**

The DA delegation, led by MPs Dianne Kohler Barnard, Phumzile van Damme, Zak Mbhele and provincial leader Sizwe Mchunu, said they had an "oversight role to play" and spoke to some foreigners.

Van Damme said: "We have heard some absolute horror stories.

"We were told that when mobs and gangs went into communities, ransacking their houses, it took 12 hours for police to come."

Govender said the Chatsworth camp was being assisted by the government, NGOs and volunteers.

She also said the camp had water and electricity, and fully functional ablution facilities had been set **up.**

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**FOCUS - 212 of 500 DOCUMENTS**

**Pretoria News (South Africa)**

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

**E1 Edition**

**Foreigners** up in |arms over **SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **3**  
**attacks**

**LENGTH:** 612 **words**

**BYLINE:** Ntando **Makhubu**

FOREIGN nationals in Pretoria are up in arms as the threats of xenophobic violence spread and Johannesburg foreigners have been forced to close shops in the wake of lootings and beatings yesterday.

Some said they were prepared to go home while others said they had no homes to go back to.

Associations of foreign nationals said their greatest fear was the lack of protection, an experience they said they were familiar with from previous attacks in the city.

"We are ready to pack our things and go home, because we cannot afford to stay in this kind of situation," Ibrahim Shurte of the Somali Association said yesterday.

He said human rights were being undermined and no decisive intervention from security forces was evident.

"It appears we are in a police state, where human rights are being violated," he said.

Association leaders would be meeting their community to discuss taking the government's offer of easy passage back home after Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba said his department would assist those who wanted to go, whether they had documentation or not.

But that was a cop out, a way to avoid dealing with the situation, members of the Congolese Community said.

"How do you send someone home who is a refugee in the country, facing death in their countries upon return?" spokesman Esaie Prince asked.

The Congolese were shocked and confused, he said, especially because five of their countrymen had already died in KwaZulu-Natal attacks.

"To have seen Zuma celebrate his birthday in public while foreigners died in his home province was a shame," Prince said.

The University of Pretoria's Centre for Human Rights also spoke out against the silence of the government and the ANC and their delay in engaging the public on xenophobia.

"We need to hear language that makes a difference, words that loudly and clearly counter the toxic discourse that has been allowed to take us down a spiral of violence," the centre's director, Prof Frans Viljoen, said.

He said it was important that the president, government ministers, and the ANC leadership distanced themselves from inflammatory statements encouraging xenophobic violence.

"The centre therefore calls on these parties to effectively engage the broadest possible South African public on this issue, in order to curb and eradicate xenophobia and xenophobic violence."

These messages, Viljoen said, had to be repeated, constantly reiterated and not only heard after crisis moments; they had to be accessible, in local languages, and be expressed directly to communities, in conjunction with local leaders.

Civil society organisations also condemned the violence, with the Treatment Action Campaign, Ndifuna Ukwazi, Sonke Gender Justice, Triangle Project, and the Gay and Lesbian Network saying xenophobic violence was a direct attack on the freedom struggled for for so many years.

The Pan Africanist Movement said the attacks were a demonstration of a deeper crisis of self identity, and a focus on the causes was important in stopping them.

Stakeholders in Mamelodi East yesterday said they were on high alert for any hint of xenophobic attacks in their area, after foreign shopkeepers were attacked and forced out of the community during a four-month spate of violence last year.

Community policing forum chairman Eddie Mnguni said tensions were high and a meeting between civil society groups, security organisations, traditional leadership structures and community groups had been called to assess the situation and put strategies in place to safeguard and protect foreigners.

The repatriation of foreigners was already in progress by yesterday, with Malawian nationals expected to leave this week and be home by **Sunday**.

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South **Africa**)

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

## **Mining sector leader calls for expatriate settlements**

**BYLINE:** Mpho **Sibanyoni**

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE**

**LENGTH:** 338 **words**

A PROMINENT leader in the mining sector has called on the government to put foreigners in **refugee** camps before integrating them with South African society.

"When **foreigners** come here and claim **refugee** status, **government** must take them to **refugee** camps and conduct a proper assessment of their status," said South African Mining Development Association president Peter **Temane**.

"There are instances in which ... people come from countries which are not engaged in wars but they claim **refugee status**."

Temane spoke to Sowetan yesterday after residents of KwaZulu-Natal launched **a wave of attacks on foreigners** that has left at least five people dead and scores of people injured.

His statement echoed that of ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe, who also said **SA needed refugee camps**.

Temane said the **attacks** could signal that **locals** were frustrated by their **poor economic conditions**.

He said this could be a result of **government mismanaging** the **township economy** from the early 1990s, when residents complained that malls in townships would have adverse consequences for local businesspeople.

"Malls have killed township retailers and businesspeople are suffering. **And now they have to compete with foreigners who work and stay in their spaza shops**," he said.

**Black Business Council secretary-general Xolani Qubeka** said he was concerned that **African foreigners were being isolated**.

"It is a worrisome trend to see the attacks and, for whatever reason, they cannot be condoned. They are unacceptable."

He said there was a trend **that these attacks** were linked to poverty as they appeared to be carried out on weekdays by young people who should be at school or in work.

"**We need to be able to embrace other foreign nationals**," he said, adding that **SA companies operating abroad might be in danger of a similar fate**.

Econometrix economist Rob Jeffrey said: "There is no doubt **the attacks** are **having an impact on the image of South Africa ... it [has] a negative impact on the country as a tourist and foreign investment destination**."

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South **Africa**)

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

## COPS FOIL LOOTING OF FOREIGNERS' SHOPS

**BYLINE:** Nivashni **Nair**

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE**

**LENGTH:** 532 **words**

Hearing rumours of imminent attacks they are closing their stores

**ATTACKS** on foreign nationals, which started in Durban have spread to Pietermaritzburg.

A group of about 15 South Africans attempted to loot **Congolese-owned shops** in the city **centre**.

**Midlands police spokesman Constable Kenetth Ngobese** said police were called to East Street before the group could strike.

"They dispersed when police arrived but have regrouped and are moving around the city centre " he said.

Foreign shopkeepers closed their shops.

"Police are still monitoring because the group are still within the CBD. We have not used stun grenades or bullets because it has not come to that " Ngobese said.

**Pakistani shopkeepers** in Phoenix north of Durban also closed their shops and went to the local police station for protection after it was rumoured an angry mob were headed their way.

**KwaZulu-Natal police spokesman Colonel Jay Naicker** said foreigners across the province were closing their businesses.

"They are hearing rumours of imminent attacks so they are closing their stores."

Naicker said claims of riots and fatalities in the Durban city centre were false.

"There are a large number of people gathering in the Point area but nothing has happened. It is quiet."

He appealed to social media users to stop posting false information online.

"Spreading false information on the number of deaths and attacks the different areas that are being attacked and hate speech aimed at **foreign nationals** not only causes undue panic in communities but also have the potential to fuel the **violence**.

"The responsible use of social media can contribute greatly in our fight against crime by making people aware of the consequences of engaging in criminal activity ways to safeguard themselves and their property against criminals and to help police identify and find suspects " he said.

Since the start of the attacks 74 people have been arrested on charges of murder public violence business robbery theft and possession of firearms and ammunition.

Three foreign nationals and two South Africans - including a 14-year-old boy gunned down in Ntuzuma during looting on Monday night - have died since attacks on foreigners began in Isipingo south of Durban three weeks ago.

Over the weekend fresh attacks broke out in the northern KwaMashu and Ntuzuma areas.

On Monday night the **wave of xenophobic violence spread** into the central Umbilo suburb.

Durban's city centre was a battlefield on Tuesday when angry mobs of South Africans attacked foreign-owned shops and foreigners took up arms to fight back.

The violence spread to Verulam north of Durban that night when five foreigners were stabbed and assaulted when two shops were looted.

National police commissioner General Riah Phiyega has deployed 800 police officers to restore peace.

KwaZulu-Natal provincial commissioner Lieutenant-General Mmamonye Ngobeni said police were doing everything in their power to restore peace and stability.

"We ... caution that those found to be breaking the law will be prosecuted. They must stop

committing criminal activities and report those suspects wanted by the police for crimes ... already reported " she said.

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 16, 2015 Thursday

## Love knows no boundaries, says premier

**BYLINE:** Nivashni Nair

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 334 words

"LOVE is love. If you love a Mozambican so what? If you love a Nigerian so what? If you love an American so what?"

This was the response of KwaZulu-Natal premier Senzo Mchunu to a question on the effect of the recent spate of xenophobic attacks on families in which South African women are married to foreign nationals.

A reporter from TV Mozambique who arrived in Durban to cover the recent spate of attacks on foreigners told Mchunu that he had interviewed men who are concerned that their children will starve after they were forced out of their homes by angry mobs.

"In the Chatsworth transit camp we met an immigrant who told us that he is married to a South African woman and has a six-month-old child with her. He has been chased away from his place and he is worried about how he is going to provide for his child because all that he has is gone and his wife does not work " the reporter said.

Mchunu said violence whether against foreigners or South Africans had a tendency of disrupting family life and that the team established to find a solution to the deadly attacks in Durban would be looking into the effects on families.

Transit camps in Isipingo Chatsworth and Greenwood are housing at least 2000 displaced foreigners. Three foreign nationals and two South Africans - including a 14-year-old who was gunned down in Ntuzuma during looting on Monday night - have lost their lives since attacks on foreigners began in Isipingo south of Durban three weeks ago.

Over the weekend fresh attacks broke out in KwaMashu and Ntuzuma areas. On Monday night the wave of xenophobic violence spread into the central Umbilo suburb.

Durban was a battlefield on Tuesday when angry mobs attacked foreign-owned shops and foreign nationals took up arms to fight back. The violence spread to Verulam on Tuesday night, where five foreigners were stabbed and assaulted while two shops were looted.

There were no attacks overnight but Durban police remain on high alert.

CONCERNED: Senzo Mchunu

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April 16, 2015 Thursday

## Foreigner's camps 'are appalling'

**BYLINE:** Moipone Malefane Political Editor

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 463 words

Rights commission calls for leaders to resolve crisis

THE South African Human Rights Commission says living conditions at the camps set up for displaced foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal are appalling.

The commission has also urged the government and civil society leaders to show strong leadership to resolve that crisis.

Chairman Lawrence Mushwana and his team visited the camps and found they were on land with dirty water that attracted flies.

The camps were also over-crowded. Water taps and toilets were located about 300m away.

"Government's response [to provide shelter] is okay. There is security provided, but imagine at night when children and mothers have to go to the toilet. It is dangerous for them," Mushwana told Sowetan yesterday.

He said some foreigners had volunteered to be repatriated to their respective countries, fearing for their safety.

Some undocumented Mozambique nationals were refusing to be registered, saying they were waiting for their ambassador.

Since the xenophobic attacks intensified, various embassies have undertaken to intervene to assist their citizens.

Mushwana said he had hoped that after the deadly attacks on foreigners in 2008, the government would pass a law to prevent a recurrence in future.

"We need strong leadership. There is a need for leadership at the highest level to intervene as well as kings, chiefs, churches and civil societies. This is not painting a good image for the country on the continent and internationally," he said.

Foreign policy experts have also urged the SA government to show strong leadership to avert diplomatic fallout on the continent that could result in negative economic consequences.

Professor Jo-Ansie van Wyk, senior lecturer in international politics at Unisa, said the attacks contradicted the country's foreign policy which had strong bullets on protection of human rights.

"There is a gap between what the policy tells the world and our interpretation as the citizen.

"What we see speaks to the frustrations that South Africans have and we target foreigners who are trying to make a living."

She said investors may not be eager to invest in the country because they may be attacked.

Professor Shadrack Gutto, head of the Institute for African Renaissance Studies, said the situation may have a serious impact on the economy.



"This happened in 2008 ... and now it has emerged [again], dangerously undermining the country's international reputation.

"The sad thing is, South African leadership has taken a lukewarm position on this, not questioning what is our country doing to fellow Africans."

DISPLACED: A woman cooks on an open fire in a tented **refugee** camp set up in Chatsworth, south of Durban, after xenophobic attacks drove foreign nationals from their homes Photo: JACKIE **CLAUSEN**

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**Sowetan**  
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Sowetan (South **Africa**)

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

## **Minister calls for spaza shop dialogue**

**BYLINE:** Nompumelelo **Magwaza**

**SECTION:** ECONOMY, BUSINESS & **FINANCE**

**LENGTH:** 268 **words**

**MINISTER** of Small Business Development **Lindiwe Zulu** has called for national dialogue involving **spaza shop and small business owners** at provincial and municipality levels, in light of the **ongoing xenophobic attacks and tension** in Durban and **Johannesburg**.

In an interview before the Khula Business Tour launch in Durban on Tuesday, Zulu said the first thing to be done **was to involve law enforcement**. "so that those who are looting can be discouraged".

**Khula Business Tour was set up by various entrepreneurs in KwaZulu-Natal, with the focus**

on creating business information hubs for potential entrepreneurs and young people in 11 districts in the province.

"It does not make sense to keep on thinking that you can blame one person for the xenophobic attacks. I am of a view that a serious dialogue needs to happen at local level between our people and foreign nationals who are running businesses within our communities."

Zulu said when the attacks first erupted in Soweto in January, her department took charge of the situation through a dialogue between the organised foreign national communities and owners of spaza shops and other businesses in the townships.

Zulu also blamed the saturation of spaza shops and other businesses on the lack of enforcement of bylaws at municipal level.

A national task team involving the small business development department, the department of mili, department of trade and industry and the police ministry was set up in the wake of xenophobic attacks in January.

The task team has met a couple of times since the first attacks.

proactive: Minister Lindiwe Zulu

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April 16, 2015 Thursday

**King, mantashe to blame - SECTION: CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE**  
**refugees body**

**LENGTH:** 315 words

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe, pictured, should be held responsible for the escalating xenophobic attacks in some parts of Kwazulu-Natal as their sentiments appear to be "encouraging the current **attacks**".

This is the view of the Consortium for **Refugees and Migrants** in South Africa (CoRMSA).

In a statement sent to Sowetan yesterday, the consortium condemned the two leaders for reportedly making "utterances that fuel xenophobia, cause divisions and disrupt peaceful coexistence in communities".

"CoRMSA strongly condemns the utterance made by his royalty (sic) King Goodwill Zwelithini that 'all foreigners must go back to their countries where they come from', including the utterance made by comrade Mantashe that South Africa needs **refugee** camps as a solution to the current xenophobic attacks," its executive director Roshan Dadoo said.

Dadoo said the on-going violence, which had left five dead and over 2000 foreign nationals displaced, will have "disastrous impact" on the lives of both local and foreign nationals.

"The displacement of children and women as well as **refugee and migrant** men from their residences to a shelter (camps) has affected

them very negatively as children are now missing schools and being traumatised in the process ..."

The IFP and the KwaZulu-Natal Law Society (KZNLS) have also condemned the attacks, with the former blaming it on "social exclusion, poverty and the breakdown of law and order".

"When people are hungry and feel ignored by government, they will resort to any means to feed themselves and their families..." IFP chairman Blessed Gwala said.

Gwala said those who blamed the Zulu king for the **xenophobic attacks** in the province were "liars".

KZNLS president Manette Strauss said the attacks were "abhorrent" and a reversal of the country's hard-won constitutional gains.

I mazibilas@sowetan.co.za

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Sowetan (South **Africa**)**April 16, 2015 Thursday****Xenophobes get away with murder****BYLINE:** Nompumelelo **Runji****SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL****LENGTH:** 999 **words**

There are no consequences for those who carry out attacks

"THESE foreigners need to be civilised."

A caller to Redi Tlhabi's radio talk show on 702 said this as she weighed in on the xenophobic violence that is rocking KwaZulu-Natal and agreed with King Goodwill Zwelithini's controversial statements. She continued: "Where they live is dirty, there are cockroaches all over. My Ghanaian friend says that South African women are **cleaner**."

We cannot **eradicate xenophobia** while cabinet ministers and senior members of the ANC continue to deny that **black South Africans have become increasingly xenophobic**.

Security cluster ministers this week were at pains to dismiss this truth, wasting time with semantics, they opted to call the violence that is being meted out on foreign nationals "Afrophobia". This, **while hundreds of people, including Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, lose their possessions, livelihoods, homes and suffer injury and death.**

There are a number of factors that make South Africa **a breeding ground for violent expressions of xenophobia.**

The first is illustrated in the views propagated by the caller.

Following the demise of apartheid, for the first time black South Africans found themselves having to welcome people from different countries and cultures from all over the continent and the world.

Having lived in a closed society for many years, with the strict enforcement of separation of different groups by apartheid policies, the country's majority was not accustomed to cultural mixing.

**The government's poor border control resulted in migrants swelling the country's cities.**

**Apartheid did not only succeed in sowing discord between races. It fomented tribal and ethnic animosities. The inferiority and superiority pathologies that characterise race relations exist between ethnic groups, for example between the Vendas and Tsongas in Malamulele, Limpopo.**

In relation to **foreigners of African and Asian descent**, South Africans believe they are superior to **these migrants**.

**Just because they look different, dress differently, sound different, eat "strange" food and have a weird lifestyle, they must be backward and uncivilised.**

This reasoning is no different from the unfounded assumptions held by white racist colonialists about black people in general.

The South Africans, and there are sadly many, who think like this may be anti-Rhodes and anti-Verwoerd and their ideology since they suffered under it. But they are no different from these inventors of colonialism and apartheid in their holding to, and acting on, their prejudice towards foreigners.

A second factor that created a context for xenophobic violence is recalcitrance on the part of many communities across the country.

Although we boast a comprehensive framework of laws and have a democracy anchored on the rule of law, the rule of law is not universally accepted.

Many South Africans still believe that it is alright to take the law into their own hands if they want to see justice.

They believe in swift justice and have little confidence and trust in the criminal justice system.

The culture of mob action, vigilantism and violent protest has not died - again a legacy of apartheid, where police and courts could never be trusted to act impartially or in the interests of justice.

And so, anyone or anything perceived to be a threat or going against the demands of the community is dealt with by the tyranny of the mob. Those accused of crime are hunted down and killed, councillors accused of corruption get their houses burnt down and foreigners who are doing business in the township to the detriment of South African competitors are subjected to looting and violent expulsion.

A third factor that reinforces xenophobic attitudes and recalcitrance in black South Africans is impunity.

When the 2008 xenophobic violence flared up in Gauteng's townships and spread across the country, the government's action was delayed and ineffective.

It took then president Thabo Mbeki nearly two weeks to take drastic and urgent measures, including deploying members of the South African National Defence Force and to condemn the killing and assault of foreign nationals.

By then, dozens had lost their lives and hundreds were displaced.

To date, no one has been arrested, tried and convicted for the deaths, assaults and looting of those foreign nationals who felt the brunt of those attacks.

South Africans persist with this violence because there is no consequence. They know that they can get away with murder, literally.

The government's inaction and failure to demonstrate its intolerance of xenophobic violence through strong law enforcement measures, followed by prosecution, has allowed mob violence to acquire strong political currency in South Africa.

For this reason, impunity has emboldened communities and criminal elements to continue these xenophobia-driven attacks.

A fourth factor is of course the high level of poverty and unemployment in the townships and rural areas that play host to equally poor and unemployed foreign nationals.

As local communities vent their frustration on municipal properties by burning them and violent protest, foreign nationals are easy targets.

Their only claim to legitimacy is their constitutional rights and home affairs documentation (for those who have this).

The government's economic policies have not resulted in growth and commensurate job creation.

The impact of this is not just demonstrated in statistics. People, especially the black majority in townships, are suffering the hardship that this failure has caused and are venting their anger.

Semantics and denial will not help eradicate xenophobia. Did we not learn that lesson with the HIV/Aids pandemic?

IComment on twitter @nompumelelorunj

FLEEING FEAR: Bathtime in a tented **refugee** camp set up in Isiphingo, south of Durban. This illustrates the effects of the recent xenophobic violence that has led to the displacement and

dispossession of many foreign nationals Photo: JACKIE **CLAUSEN**

**LOAD-DATE:** April 19, **2015**

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**The Star (South Africa)**

**April 16, 2015 Thursday**

**E1 Edition**

## **Xenophobes must be marginalised**

**SECTION:** Pg. **25**

**LENGTH:** 521 **words**

April 7 was the 21st anniversary of the Rwandan genocide in which a million Tutsis were slaughtered and a further 2 million fled their country with only the clothes on their backs. The scale of the massacre was so devastating virtually no Tutsi family escaped losing a loved **one**.

Have we learnt nothing from examples like this? Our own country has a history of subjugation to three centuries of race-based repression.

Xenophobia is just as evil as racism and other phobias and isms South Africans are familiar with.

Mob hysteria is a horrific phenomenon that can spread like wildfire and transform normally decent people into barbarians.

If we fail to curtail xenophobia, it's possible we could experience a horror similar to the Rwandan holocaust.

That madness had antagonistic small beginnings, then got out of control. People were

demonised because they were of a different tribe.

Never has it been so urgent for determined and responsible action from our absent political, community, business and religious leaders.

King Goodwill Zwelithini's irresponsible xenophobic utterances have ignited a powder keg of violence against foreign families in KwaZulu-Natal.

It has taken three weeks for political luminaries to summon the courage to stand among the victims in their **refugee** camps and call for the madness to cease.

The king has still not had the integrity to unreservedly call for an end to the violence, looting and killing, but has adopted a typically evasive South African strategy of accusing the media for misquoting him.

Sadly, neither presidents Jacob Zuma or Robert Mugabe had the gumption at their recent summit meeting to use that platform to castigate the lunatic fringe. The consequences of the local xenophobic attacks could have dire consequences for our country.

Human rights activist Elinor Sisulu has said there is a rising anger in African countries at how their compatriots are being treated in South Africa.

She said if the violence persisted there could be retribution against South African citizens and their businesses across the continent.

Apart from the African victims, many of the unfortunates are of Indian or Chinese descent, which could even conceivably lead to an expulsion from the Brics club.

If our government remains moribund, we could also be censured by the AU which would be the ultimate embarrassment for our country.

Let us pray that calm minds prevail to douse the raging fires of intolerance and prejudice tarnishing our previously good reputation since 1994.

The lunatic hotheads are not reflective of the majority of decent people, but a tiny minority of hate-filled bigots can wreak unimaginable damage to a country.

While we all value our freedom of speech, the bigots should not be given carte blanche to light matches in a fireworks factory.

**Xenophobic hate speech** is already influencing the **killings** of **many immigrants** and no sane South African would want this pogrom to escalate.

Just as internationally, organisations like Fifa outlaw racist vitriol in their No to Racism campaign, so too should **xenophobic hate speech** be marginalised by all decent South Africans.

Brian Venter

Arcadia, **Pretoria**

**LOAD-DATE:** April 17, **2015**

**LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH**

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The Star (South Africa)

April 16, 2015 Thursday

E1 Edition

**Panic grips CBD;****Shopkeepers close their doors  
fearing xenophobic attacks****BYLINE: STAFF REPORTERS****SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1****LENGTH: 738 words**

THE JOBURG city centre was on a knife edge for most of the day yesterday, with many shopkeepers shutting their stores as fears of renewed xenophobic attacks in Gauteng surfaced.

A brazen text message circulating on social media networks warning foreigners to heed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call and "return to your home countries" heightened fears of renewed attacks on foreigners in Joburg.

"There was a rumour that there was some action against foreign nationals organised by some group that wanted foreign nationals attacked. It also emanated from a message circulated on WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter," Community Safety MEC Sizakele Nkosi-Malobane told The Star yesterday.

She said the police were investigating the source of the text message, with the aim of arresting its author.

"When we received the calls (of alleged imminent attacks), we made sure the police, including those from the public order and tactical response team, were deployed."

Nkosi-Malobane dismissed xenophobia as the cause of the closure of stores yesterday and said the closures were a result of an operation to clamp down on shopkeepers and vendors selling counterfeit goods, which was part of Gauteng's crime-fighting strategy, Operation ke Molao (It's the law).

Police said yesterday an extra 800 officers had been deployed in Durban, where at least five people have died, including a 14-year-old, and more than a 1 000 immigrants have fled their homes.

Many have been beaten and had their businesses looted and vandalised.

State Security spokesman Brian Dube said all the flare-ups were being monitored.

There had been 74 arrests so far for murder, public violence, business robbery, theft, and possession of firearms and ammunition.

A peace march was to be held in Durban today, led by KZN Premier Senzo Mchunu, and was expected to attract 10 000 people.

Fear and panic swept through Pietermaritzburg like wildfire yesterday following isolated looting



of foreign-owned shops in the CBD and surrounding suburbs.

Police said a group of about 20 South Africans had gone on the rampage, looting shops and intimidating foreign shopowners.

Terrified shopowners, local and foreign, were forced to shut.

Reporters from the Daily News, The Star's sister paper, saw about 30 people armed with knobkerries and sticks.

They struck cars gridlocked in traffic with their weapons, screaming to white and Indian motorists to "f\*\*\* off" and chanting "Africa is for Africans".

As darkness descended in Joburg, tension at the Jeppestown hostel rose and began peaking with groups breaking off to riot, rob and attack whenever they got the chance.

Around 4pm, residents milled about on Margaret Mcingana Street in front of the hostel, holding an uneasy stand-off with police officers who had closed off the street to vehicles.

On Hanau Street, a block away, residents tried to rob passing cars and threw stones to threaten away those who got too close.

The tension reached breaking point as night approached, with police remaining at either end of the street as residents massed outside a hostel.

Several rioters tried to chase a passing beer truck, using whistles to communicate, and as the sun set, the crowd gathered around the hostel began breaking off.

Two young men ran towards the taped-off area and the police, saying they had just been robbed at gunpoint. They said they lived near the Kwa Mai-Mai Market, a few blocks from the hostel, and were headed home when hostel

dwellers shoved them onto the ground and took their phones.

Media representatives weren't off limits either. One journalist was groped by a hostel dweller and another had her phone stolen.

PowerFM reporter Tehillah Niselow said the residents were friendly with the media at first, laughing and joking together, before the mood shifted. "The crowd turned on the journalists," she said.

After this, the break-off groups became more brazen, and shortly after dark, the police, who had been watching the situation escalate, began leaving the scene.

Later, three men were attacked by a group carrying sticks, stones and other weapons when they crossed the bridge over a railway. One was hit on the head with a hammer, and the other, who had tried to hide beneath a van, was found and pummelled with stones. They had been on their way to church.

A street away from the hostel, the looters tried to break into a local spaza shop not too far from where the police were parked, shielded by darkness.

See pages 4 and 14

**LOAD-DATE:** April 17, 2015

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Business Day (South **Africa**)

**April** 15, 2015 **Wednesday**

Business Day **Edition**

**THE THIRD UMPIRE. ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe - National Director of Public Prosecutions Mxolisi Nxasana - EFF KwaZulu-Natal chairman Vukani Ndlovu**

OUT: National Director of Public Prosecutions Mxolisi Nxasana. Six months ago there was a & strong case against the head of the NPA's commercial crimes unit, Lawrence Mrwebi, now the charges have been withdrawn. What gives?

OUT: EFF KwaZulu-Natal chairman Vukani Ndlovu. He and his party have blood on their hands following the death of a woman who was struck by a car while trying to evade police after invading land at the EFF's **instigation**.

**SECTION: OPINION & EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH: 112 words**

**LOAD-DATE: April 18, 2015**

THE THIRD UMPIRE OUT: ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe, whose call for **refugee** camps to be established to deal with the influx of illegal **immigrants** into SA risks stigmatising foreigners further and worsening xenophobic violence.

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Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

**April** 15, 2015 **Wednesday**

E1 **Edition**

**Harrowing Steinberg book a must-read in these xenophobic times**

**SECTION: Pg. 15**

**LENGTH:** 454 **words**

The Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area sounds hazily seductive, Blikkiesdorp does not. The unofficial name for the city's default space for emergency housing needs has stuck and it couldn't be more onomatopoeiac - Blikkiesdorp sounds like, and is, a rough place on the fringes of our city, both metaphorically and physically (just to the east of the airport, among that curious collection of Dutch names like Delft, Eindhoven and The **Hague**).

I've never been there, but I remember it most clearly as the place where **many foreigners** who fled the **xenophobic violence** in 2008 ended up after a harrowing journey through Soetwater and Blue Waters.

**As foreign-owned shops** are again **under attack**, this time in uMlazi and KwaMashu, there will be **fear and tension** in Blikkiesdorp because **xenophobia is still very dry tinder** in our townships.

I suspect we all know that in a transient kind of way, but if you read Jonny Steinberg's A Man of Good Hope you will understand it in ways you'll never forget.

**As King Goodwill Zwelithini** (has ever a man had a more inappropriate first name?) reportedly spouted his xenophobic bile and stores burned in KZN, I was finishing this remarkable book which traces the life of **Somali shopkeeper|Asad Abdullahi from Mogadishu to Blikkiesdorp** and beyond.

Much of Asad's story lies in East|Africa where he somehow overcame a|succession of unimaginable obstacles in pursuit of a life in South Africa, which he vaguely perceived to be a rich and law-abiding place. Once he finally got here, some money indeed did come the way of this serial entrepreneur, but so did a series of

criminal attacks on him and his Somali partners which, in their detail, utterly shame several communities.

Asad came to Cape Town after being brutalised in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng but, while he found thriving Somali communities centred in Bellville and Mitchells Plain, he found no respite from violence. His shop on Mew Way in Khayelitsha was torched to the ground and he was assaulted and robbed at his next business in Blikkiesdorp.

The story is sparingly told by Steinberg without hyperbole - because none is needed. Nor is Asad portrayed as a saint. He's a gap-taking survivor with a harsh-eyed view of people who cuts corners.

He often lives outside the law, but nothing he ever did could ever warrant the contemptuous violence inflicted on him - often by the same people he served in his shop - and, in most instances, the indifference or hostility of the SAPS.

**We have a massive refugee/asylum-seeker/illegal immigrant community** - over two million - so xenophobia is not a passing issue that we can turn away from.

We all have to look this monster in the eye, and reading A Man of Good Hope is one way to start doing **so**.

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All Rights **Reserved**Cape Argus (South **Africa**)**April** 15, 2015 **Wednesday**E1 **Edition****Strong message sent on KZN xenophobia;****Ministers to take action against attackers of foreigners****SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **6****LENGTH:** 607 **words**

THE GOVERNMENT is moving on the diplomatic and law and order fronts to deal with the spate of deadly attacks against foreign nationals in the greater Durban area which yesterday were described as a "manifestation of Afrophobia".

It emerged that Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba, who heads a three-minister team liaising with KwaZulu-Natal MECs to deal with the violence, was meeting the diplomatic corps of the countries whose nationals are being targeted, among others, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Somalia.

Confirmation came as security cluster ministers sent a strong message of "resolute action"

against those attacking foreign nationals at yesterday's briefing by the justice, crime prevention and security ministerial cluster.

"As South Africans we should refuse to be part of the attacks on innocent people, merely because they happen to be foreigners. Those who are in the country illegally should be reported to the police and they will be returned to their countries of origin in a lawful manner," said Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula. "Whilst government is going to be taking resolute actions against South Africans who attack foreign nationals, we are equally determined to take action against all foreign nationals who commit crime in our country."

Meanwhile, the southern Africa representation of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has welcomed the "increased response from government", alongside greater police presence and efforts to contain violence and looting.

"We welcome the public statements made by the president and senior government officials calling for an end to attacks on foreigners, including refugees and asylum seekers," said UNHCR southern Africa regional representative Clementine Nkweta-Salami yesterday.

"The vast majority of refugees and asylum seekers on arrival in the country present

themselves to the authorities and are given documents that allow them to stay legally in the country. To lump them in the category of **illegal migrants and/or unlawful residents** is not only incorrect, but serves to stigmatise them **rather than to acknowledge that the circumstances of their plight require that they be protected.**"

Gigaba, State Security Minister David Mahlobo and Police Minister Nkosinathi Nhleko have been tasked by **President Jacob Zuma** to halt the violence which has left at least four people dead. **Gigaba has met King Goodwill Zwelithini**, whose comments last month that foreigners should leave South Africa have been linked to the violence. However, the king has said the media had distorted his words.

This month's violence in Durban follows January's looting of **foreign-owned spaza shops** in Soweto. In May 2008, 62 people were killed in **xenophobic violence** which shook the country. Over the past seven years, outbreaks of attacks on, and looting of, foreign-owned shops have occurred in communities across South Africa.

**Nhleko** said what was unfolding was "complex" and, in part, a **political and ideological problem** which, also required education and awareness.

"You don't see Australians... Britons being chased on the streets and similar demands being placed on them that they should leave the country...", Nhleko said. "What you effectively see is largely Africans against one another... What we are witnessing are actually **Afro-phobic kind of activities and attacks.**.. The evidence seems to show that mainly the attacks are against the **Congolese, the Zimbabweans, the Malawians, the Mozambicans, Ethiopians, the Somalis** and South African nationals as well."

**The security cluster ministers yesterday maintained the situation in Durban was under control.**

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**Mail&Guardian**

Mail & **Guardian**

**April 15, 2015**

## Not in our name: Religious leaders plan march to end xenophobia

SECTION: NATIONAL

LENGTH: 838 words

**HIGHLIGHT:** A march to the Durban City Hall is expected to take place this week as violence against foreign nationals in KZN is falling short of being quelled.

Religious and political leaders are planning a peace march to the Durban City Hall in a bid to stop attacks between foreign nationals, police and residents of the city, a spokesperson for the KwaZulu-Natal government said on Tuesday. "On Thursday there will be a march led by various sectors by government from Curries Fountain as a stand against xenophobia, as an expression of commitment to ending this kind of violence and to protecting lives," said Thami Ngwenya. Meanwhile, EWN reported that foreign nationals have armed themselves in anticipation of further attacks. No further attacks were reported overnight. Gift of the Givers Foundation has opened a refugee camp outside Durban to accommodate foreigners who have fled the area. President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, who is being investigated by the South African Human Rights Commission for xenophobic remarks, yesterday condemned the attacks.

But he remained unapologetic for his earlier remarks. Zuma told News24: "I am not going to

stop telling the truth. The government must stop running away from addressing this issue because these people are expected to go back into their communities and we would have wasted taxpayer's monies [accommodating them at camps]." Landless people's movement, Abahlali mbaseMjondolo, in a statement, noted that an anti-xenophobic march held on April 8 had been broken up by the police. The group questioned the motives behind Thursday's planned march. "Today we are told that the KZN government is organising their own march to be held on the 16th of April. We ask ourselves why now when the march supported by migrant organisations was banned and attacked. We ask ourselves who will be marching? And who will be receiving a Memorandum and from who? We are now clear and ashamed that just as there has been high level political support for attacks on people from the Eastern Cape there is also support for this violence. There are many in the ruling party who would rather have the poor divided than united and would rather have the poor turning against their neighbours instead of their real oppressors. There are also people who have their eyes on the businesses and homes of others." "Return to your countries"

A whatsapp message circulated by a group calling themselves the Patriotic Movement caused a storm on social media on Wednesday. The message pleaded with foreigners to return home. "We are pleading with you to return to your home countries - as our King Goodwill and many other great leaders have asked. Go and build up those countries so that we can all live in economic, social and political prosperity and peace - as neighbours. The genocide in this corner of Africa will be far worse than what happened in Rwanda in 1994. Then the entire continent will be condemned to ashes. Is that what you want?" the message said. Meanwhile, after a day of running battles, Ngwenya said police would be ready to secure the city for workers and commuters on Wednesday and considered the events of the past days as



"mostly criminal". Thursday's march would be led by religious leaders, representatives of various community structures and, said Ngwenya, "those that stand for values of ubuntu, who stand against any forms of violence". Bringing shame to SA

Forty six people have been arrested so far, and least five people killed, including a teenager, since the violence flared in Isipingo, outside Durban on Friday. By Monday it had spread to KwaMashu and on Tuesday police played a cat and mouse game with groups who ran around the city banging on the shutters of closed up shops to attract the police, only to run away when police approached. On Tuesday in Durban's CBD, a car was set alight and stun grenades and tear gas canisters were fired. Ngwenya said: "This is bringing shame to our country." He hoped the theme of the march - "Not in our name" - would help return peace to the city. On Tuesday, KwaZulu-Natal's Premier Senzo Mchunu and the Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba met diplomats from at least 15 African countries to discuss the latest events. "The position is that we condemn this and the focus is to end the violence and bring stability and ensure that we get to address these issues," said Ngwenya. "It basically has a lot of criminal elements. It is the targeted looting of

shops owned by foreign nationals. Police have been deployed and are trying to quell the situation." He could not comment immediately on whether there was a backlash starting among foreign nationals, following a stand-off with police in Albert Park, Durban. On Tuesday afternoon police and community representatives urged a group of foreign nationals gathered in Albert Park to disperse but they taunted police at first, with a loud countdown, before leaving. The province was also working with organisations such as the Red Cross to provide food and shelter to people who been displaced. "They are being given food, and water, and after that their longer term accommodation needs and reintegration will be assessed." - News24, M&G Reporter.

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**Mail & Guardian**

Mail & Guardian

April 15, 2015

## South Africans united against xenophobia on social media

**BYLINE:** Sthembiso Sithole

**SECTION:** NATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 499 words

**HIGHLIGHT:** As attacks on foreign nationals in KZN continue, South Africans have taken to social media to say **#NoToXenophobia**.

The attacks on foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal have sparked an outrage on social media, with many users condemning the xenophobic attacks. On Sunday, it was reported that foreign-owned shops in the township of KwaMashu were looted and torched as locals attempted to drive out immigrants from other African states. Since then, the violence has escalated and tensions remain high as police try to keep the situation calm.

Police Minister: KZN attacks are not just xenophobic. Several dead as xenophobic violence boils over in Durban. On Tuesday, shops belonging to Ethiopian and Somalians in Durban's West Street were looted. Tyres were burnt and police used teargas to disperse the mob. Addressing journalists at a press conference in Parliament, Police Minister Nathi Nhleko said he found it hard to view the attacks as just xenophobia. But many South Africans believe these are xenophobic attacks. Tweeting under different hashtags such as #NoToXenophobia, #WeAreAfrica, #LoveAfrica South Africans expressed their views: Some

people are barbaric "@HOMBI\_SA: Times like these I feel embarrassed to even say I'm South African. #NoToXenophobia"-- It's a Venda thing (@Senwamadi\_KG) April 15, 2015 An attack on a fellow Afrikan is an attack on me. #NoToXenophobia-- Khanyi Kubheka (@NomceboKubheka) April 15, 2015 There's hope in the fact that #NoToXenophobia is trending - Let's stand behind this and turn the hashtag into action. pic.twitter.com/35ZdexP5qh-- Maps Maponyane (@MapsMaponyane) April 15, 2015 #WeAreAfrica say NO to xenophobia https://t.co/UcCjrqd10a-- Brand South Africa (@Brand\_SA) April 14, 2015 I am an African. I will respect my fellow Africans. #NoToXenophobia-- Caitlin Doney (@CPT\_Girl) April 15, 2015 PLEASE RETWEET THIS & SAY NO TO #Xenophobia #WeAreAfrica pic.twitter.com/xuP8FR0uXA-- Nkanyezi Kubheka (@NkanyeziKubheka) April 14, 2015 South African. Nigerian. Zimbabwean. Ethiopian. Somali. Egyptian. We are all Africans. #NoToXenophobia pic.twitter.com/3ANg9nRIrv-- Dianne Hawker (@diannehawker) April 14, 2015 Let's celebrate a united Africa. #StopXenophobia. #LoveAfrica. #LiveUnited. #LiveLoud. pic.twitter.com/npjodj290-- FRESH!!!! (@FRESHat5) April 14, 2015 As expected, many have blamed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for his remarks: "We urge all foreigners to pack their bags and leave". Bare your eyes on the initiator of #Xenophobia This man needs to be criminally charged! #NoToXenophobia pic.twitter.com/3FF9z7fcq7-- Siyanda Silvah (@Silvah\_7) April 14, 2015 Zwelithini allegedly made the comments, which have sparked criticism, at a moral regeneration rally in Pongola, northern KwaZulu-Natal, a few weeks ago. President Jacob Zuma's eldest son, Edward Zuma also echoed the King's sentiments that "foreigners needed to leave the country". Meanwhile, political and religious leaders are planning a peace march against violence directed at foreign nationals. #durban



LETS DO THIS #Xenophobia #loveafrica  
#weareone pic.twitter.com/YRv5tH0dFO--  
Jonsie ~ Sue-Anne (@JonsieQ) April 14, 2015

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 15, 2015 Wednesday**

E1 **Edition**

## **Now is the time for introspection**

**SECTION:** NETWORK; Pg. 8

**LENGTH:** 525 **words**

I am sure I am not alone when I say that the attacks on foreign nationals in our country have left me both sickened and appalled.

It shakes the very foundation of who we are as a collective and, quite honestly, it makes me question what has happened to our people's basic sense of **humanity**.

Leaders play a critical role in influencing behaviour and, tragically, the irresponsible utterings in this case have cost people their lives. Some responsibility needs to be borne for

this, but the fact that people chose to respond in this violent and inhumane way is inexcusable.

The issue at hand is a serious one, because it is true that the number of foreign nationals currently living and working in South Africa has soared to unprecedented heights, and when one considers how many South Africans are unemployed, one can appreciate that the situation is a potentially explosive one.

But surely we are reacting to the condition, instead of identifying what has caused it?

People have clearly moved here because there are opportunities for them in South Africa, so instead of attacking those who have chosen to come to our country, surely we should be looking at why people are making this decision in the first place and how they are managing to actually move here.

To my mind, we need to differentiate between foreigners who are in the country legally and those who are here illegally.

The glut of illegal **immigrants** needs to be addressed by policing and exportation, and improved border control management.

We managed to do this in the past, so what has gone wrong in recent years?

We cannot blame our management failures on those who have taken advantage of them.

In terms of the employment of foreign nationals, I believe there are some unscrupulous employers that take advantage of the fact that illegal **immigrants** have no rights in terms of our labour laws and that they are prepared to work harder for less. One cannot condone this behaviour, in fact, it is deplorable.

There is another side to this coin though.

There are foreigners employed by great firms who pay their foreign employees well and who appreciate their work ethic and their non-militance.

There is also the undeniable fact that many Africans from other countries enjoy a far superior education to what is available to our people. This gives them a distinct competitive advantage.

Ironically, too, despite our unemployment rate, we have a massive skills shortage.

In business, one doesn't get to object to the fact that consumers are using and choosing a

competitors product, you have to establish why and then adjust your offering to compete. Perhaps we need to look closely at the competitiveness of our offering?

Again, we need to look at ourselves.

We cannot afford to continue [to disadvantage our people in this way and to force businesses to employ less than capable employees is not the answer, because it makes those businesses less competitive globally.

I am sure there are many [factors to consider, but I do think that this utterly unacceptable state of affairs requires South Africans at all levels to do some [serious introspection and to consider coming together to find real **solutions**.

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Post (South **Africa**)

**April** 15, 2015 **Wednesday**

E1 **Edition**

## Is there a third force? behind xeno attacks?

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 16

**LENGTH:** 293 words

THE tragic events of the past week in KZN - the xenophobic attack on foreign nationals - are an indictment of our once proud democratic order.

I have been integrally involved - notably with the Greenwood Park refugee camp - since the refugees were brought in. Sadly, despite a recommendation by the ward councillor at a meeting last Tuesday at the Sydenham Police Station to house them at the Greenwood Park Community hall, these refugees were taken to a little hall in the heart of the community. Conditions are not conducive to housing up to 200 - the current number.

This resulted in outrage from the community - understandable, as many bona fide ratepayers feel this "invasion" creates unwarranted problems.

What has become of concern to me is that foreign nationals in my ward were attacked by balaclava-clad people. A xenophobic attack generally occurs without cover-up and is spontaneous. The question begs, is there a third force inciting and stirring these vicious attacks?

The 2008 xenophobic incidents should have alerted our government to the potential of such

attacks and contingencies should have been put in place. This has not occurred.

We have a fairly dormant army, and their deployment to potential hotspots would have alleviated much of the pain and trauma of the victims.

I believe the suggestion of "re-integrating" these victims back into the very communities that attacked them is naïve.

Having spoken to many, their trauma and fear of repeated attacks is so strong that this option is an exercise in futility.

The government must take responsibility for the safety of all citizens within its borders.

I appeal to the community to help wherever they can.

NARENDH GANESH

Branch chairman, Ward 34, and member of the federal council of the DA

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Post (South Africa)

April 15, 2015 **Wednesday**

E1 **Edition**

## **End deadly ignorance**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **16**

**LENGTH:** 349 **words**

**IGNORANCE** is the root cause of xenophobia.

A better understanding by locals of the pain and suffering experienced by those who sought asylum in South Africa from neighbouring countries would not cause further hurt and suffering to be visited upon the **refugees**.

Most of the foreigners are peace-loving and only interested in making an honest living to raise their families. Those attacking them are misinformed. They fear losing identity; they are suspicious of the activities of the exiles and mistakenly believe they are being pushed out of jobs.

What was believed to be a noble gesture by the ANC government - to overcome the divides of the past and create new forms of social cohesion through nation building and opening borders - has sadly led to a growth in intolerance of outsiders.

If only those who defaced the statue of Mahatma Gandhi better understood his life's teachings, they would not have thrown paint on it. Ela Gandhi, grand-daughter of the global peace icon, rightly says: "If someone calls on others to go on a rampage, the others will follow. If you ask why they are doing it, they will give you a flimsy answer."

It is therefore incumbent upon those in power to educate locals about being more accepting of foreign citizens, African **refugees** and minority groups. Xenophobia and racism thrive on ignorance, prejudice and stereotypes.

Even when informal settlements share common challenges such as grinding poverty, joblessness and an absence of basic amenities, they are divided by hostility and suspicion.

South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country. Locals must be taught it is not right to make foreigners the scapegoats.

Recent comments by King Goodwill Zwelithini that foreigners should be deported have only served to fuel xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal.

While we would like to share businessman Vivian Reddy's sentiment that Indians should not be afraid of being caught in the crossfire, we must warn that it is the duty of every citizen to practise brotherhood, tolerance, equality and non-**racism**.

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Post (South **Africa**)

**April** 15, 2015 **Wednesday**

E1 **Edition**

## **Navi Pillay to lead committee to contain xeno **violence****

**BYLINE:** CANDICE **SOOBRAMONEY**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **8**

**LENGTH:** 513 **words**

THE former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, will lead a reference committee, put together by KwaZulu-Natal Premier Senzo Mchunu, on how to deal with the xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-**Natal**.

Pillay said she met with the premier last week after receiving an urgent call to assist with intervention plans and that the reference committee, which is made up of about 6 members, would meet again tomorrow (Thursday).

"I hope to play a key role |because the violence and xenophobic attacks are a huge |concern for the commission.

"For us to do something, we need to learn what are the facts on the ground and the |grievances of the protesters.

"We will also find out the concerns of the foreign nationals. They have rights too, but why is there resentment against them?"

She described the attacks, which are seemingly spiralling into chaos in different parts of the city, as shocking.

"Everyone is subject to the rule of law, no matter who you are or what position you hold, so no one should take the law into their hands by committing violent acts," she said.

"It is important for people to voice their complaints but not by resorting to violence.

"Unfortunately, we have |people who are taking their anger and disappointment out on others who are suffering equally, if not more."

The spokesman for the |Minority Front, Jonathan |Annipen, said it was imperative that the **Department of Home Affairs** as well as the |Department of Foreign |Affairs intervene to stop the |attacks.

He said there were people who came to South Africa seeking asylum because of the |unstable political climate in their countries.

**Annipen** said it was **|vital that citizens** not forget that during apartheid it was from the **|neighbouring |countries** that South Africans sought asylum from the persecution they encountered.

"We must also be reminded that there are those who come through our borders as **refugees**

because of natural disasters and other elements that threaten their well-being and safety.

"We would be ignorant if we failed to acknowledge that there are those who enter our country through poor border control or just through illegal means.

"These individuals must be apprehended and deported.

"This will ensure that we keep somewhat accurate records of those making entry or exit from our borders."

Meanwhile, businessman Ishwar Ramlutchman, the Africa co-ordinator of Gopio International (the Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin), wrote a letter to President Jacob Zuma this week urging him to act swiftly to save South Africa.

The letter read: "It is with sadness that we write this urgent appeal to you as the President of the Republic of South Africa to save our beautiful country from the violence that has erupted in Durban and surrounding areas.

"Our country has been through the worst during the apartheid era.

"We urgently call upon you and the government to act swiftly to bring in the army to restore peace and calm in all areas in Durban and surrounding areas."

Ramlutchman, who is also the President of the Sivananda World Peace Foundation, ended by condemning **xenophobia**.

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Pretoria News (South **Africa**)

**April 15, 2015 Wednesday**

**E1 Edition**

**Exorcise **xenophobia**, racism**

**LENGTH:** 1030 **words**

**SECTION:** Pg. **8**

Xenophobia and racialism are irrational attitudes stemming from a conception of creating a difference between us and the other. In their approach, they rely on a world view informed by stereotypes.

Xenophobia, more specifically, is based on the dislike and distrust of foreigners.

Racism, on the other hand, derives from the notion that a particular group of people is superior to another. If the other is inferior, they are incapable of performing or expressing themselves in a way that qualifies them as people, and can be discriminated **against**.

Fundamentally, though, both xenophobia and racialism are motivated by fear and a misconception of belonging.

South Africa is a multi-class, multi-cultural society with people from a multitude of origins. The majority is indigenous to the geographic space we occupy, whereas others came as colonists, slaves, labourers, **refugees** fleeing from persecution and so on.

In 1990 we made a decision to end strife in our country. The ANC chose to end the armed Struggle and negotiate with our enemies with the aim of creating a nation; a people diverse in their languages, cultural expressions and racial appearance.

We decided that our nascent nation would become a beacon of hope.

We jointly drafted a Constitution, which laid out the minimum standards by which we would build our nation. Human rights and the need for a tolerant society, given our diversity, were thought of as the ethos of this nation.

We cannot and must not lose sight of this as we move forward. We acknowledge the negative impact of patriarchy on the lives of women. We must challenge the tradition and cultural norms that are harmful to the development of any

person or community as not representing the ethos of human rights we fought for.

So too, as South Africans the fear [of other Africans and the deliberate |mismanagement of their rights as human beings is wrong. A **refugee** is a person who, due to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, lives outside their country of birth.

Each country has systems by which she accords **refugee** status to such vulnerable individuals. It is expected of the **refugee**, having sought asylum in a foreign country, to apply in order to be granted such status.

The laws governing our country enable this process upon application. Although it often takes time, as it does in most countries, South Africa has been home to **refugees** from Mozambique, Burundi, the DRC, Somalia and other African countries where there was or is conflict. When our own war was ongoing we were given **refugee** status in Angola, Botswana, Egypt, Libya, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and many other African; as well as in European and Asian countries.

South Africans who lived in exile were subjected to the rule of law of the country they were accepted in. Those who were able to work did so in terms of the work permits granted to **refugees** in those countries. In most instances, **refugees** were confined to specific areas where they lived.

Our decision as a nation, however, was to integrate **refugees** into communities so that they live as normal a life as is possible.

We still use negative terms such as kaffir, koelie and boesman when we describe each other, based on racial identification. The older generation, who experienced the worst form of indoctrination under apartheid, continues to behave in this manner. We need to assert the



right of all South Africans to live wherever they choose or please.

The Khoi genocide in the Western Cape was a murderous act that has not been properly documented and remains vague in our historical annals. That genocide was based on the obliteration of a group of people by the colonisers. These events illustrate the deep-rootedness of anger and prejudice in our history.

It is critical that we take stock of what brought us to where we are and why we must avoid taking the road backwards, which further engenders racial prejudice or Afrophobia.

It is equally important that foreigners living in South Africa respect the rules that govern our country.

The complaints about foreigners taking over local economic activity are disconcerting. The situation is far more complex.

South Africans sometimes rent out their shops to foreigners because they make more income from the rent than they do as shopkeepers.

There are also allegations that some South African shop owners are behind the attacks on foreigners running spaza shops in our townships.

As we advocate for the respect and protection of foreigners, we should also emphasise that they should recognise that to be protected by the law, they must first obey it.

A business licence imposes obligations of paying tax, collecting VAT on items sold and registration of a business.

Illegal activity, as alleged, such as running brothels or selling drugs from a business premise is criminal whether it is a citizen of South Africa doing it or a foreigner.

South Africans who are unemployed find it difficult to accept that they are less qualified to

be employed in the security, agricultural or domestic work sectors of our economy.

We must condemn the notion that a **refugee** can be exploited and **refugees and asylum seekers** are condemned to being cheap labour.

The reality is that many employers deliberately do not employ South Africans because they disrespect our labour laws.

This is a problem we must mobilise on.

The rights of all workers must be protected and unemployed South Africans must be given consideration for work opportunities before any other person may be considered.

Charity must begin at home.

The ANC condemns xenophobia.

Equally, we condemn noncompliance with the rule of law. We expect the police to protect every human life and to act against illegal activity of any kind.

We do not live on an island, but are part of the continent of Africa. As our countries continue to develop we must expect that people will migrate throughout the continent. Let us form street and zonal committees and exert our influence on all who live in our communities and work together to condemn all actions that divert us from our goals.

I Jessie Duarte is the deputy secretary-general of the **ANC**.

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Pretoria News (South Africa)

April 15, 2015 Wednesday

E1 Edition

**XENOPHOBIA SPREADS;****Some believe attacks are orchestrated****BYLINE:** Bongani Hans, Kamini  
Padayachee and Babalo Ndenze**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 1**LENGTH:** 539 words

A PANEL of experts has been set up to advise the government on how to deal with xenophobic violence spreading in Durban. At least four people have died and more than 1 000 immigrants have fled their homes.

The Durban city centre was locked down by police officers as they tried to contain a mob targeting immigrant-owned shops.

Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba announced steps taken by government to halt the violence.

Yesterday, locals and foreigners clashed in the Durban CBD while officials held a meeting with

ambassadors and high commissioners of six African countries to discuss the situation.

Some believe the violence may be "orchestrated attacks" that are being "well planned". KwaZulu-Natal Violence Monitor Mary de Haas said she suspected the attacks were not being carried out by "people simply fed up with foreigners".

"They (attackers) know which shops to target and there are suggestions that in some areas the groups are driving around in 'smart' vehicles. People I have spoken to at the camps say they did not know some of the attackers which suggests they were not from the same area."

Institute for Security Studies criminologist Johan Burger agreed that the spread of the attacks to the Durban city centre suggested the violence was not spontaneous. "The attacks being sustained and spreading into more urbanised areas creates a suspicion it is being organised."

Burger said the police should not be onlookers but needed to deploy a large contingent to the affected areas to curb the violence.

Meanwhile, at the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) cluster briefing in Parliament yesterday Police Minister Nathi Nhleko said the attacks represented a political

and ideological problem, with elements of "self hate" among black South Africans.

"What you effectively see is largely Africans against one another in a sense. That's why I'm saying it represents a particular set of a political problem that needs to be dealt with by ourselves as South Africans. In a sense what we are witnessing are essentially Afrophobic kind of activities," said Nhleko.

Evidence showed the attacks were targeted mostly against Congolese, Zimbabweans, Malawians, Somalis and South Africans, he said.

Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa Ngakula said lawlessness would not be tolerated. The cluster noted with "deep concern" the violence and lawlessness in some parts of the country, from the xenophobic attacks to the vandalism of statues and monuments, she said. So far 48 people had been arrested in connection with the attacks.

Gigaba said the KZN government had set up a panel of experts to advise the province on how to speedily deal with the situation. "Our priority is to integrate people back to the community so they can go back to their lives and children can go back to school."

Gigaba said more law enforcement officers were mobilised from around the country to prevent further attacks. The eThekweni executive council had formed a committee that was providing safe shelter and basic services for those in need.

On March 23, Independent Media cited Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini as saying foreigners were depriving South Africans of economic opportunities and should return home. The king's office said his speech was misinterpreted.

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Pretoria News (South Africa)

April 15, 2015 Wednesday

E1 Edition

**Violence, Eskom rattle SA;**

## Durban turns into a no-go area for foreign nationals while businesses have to close **shop**

**BYLINE:** Sechaba ka'Nkosi, Justin Brown and Ellis **Mnyandu**

**SECTION:** BUSINESS REPORT; Pg. **11**

**LENGTH:** 1334 **words**

SOUTH AFRICA's image at home and abroad took a battering yesterday as violence targeting foreign nationals spread, and the country's embattled power utility Eskom scrambled to stave off a total blackout.

An alleged assassination of a top union official in Johannesburg also heightened concerns about labour instability.

Television footage showed chaotic scenes in and around the coastal city of Durban, where locals have forced hundreds of foreign nationals to flee from two of the country's biggest townships as violence that started about two weeks ago continued.

Although police have arrested at least 48 suspects since Saturday, there appeared to be no let up yesterday in the **chaos**.

The city centre of Durban, a town renowned for its appeal among many African tourists, resembled a no-go area, and several streets were strewn with litter as mobs of locals protested the presence of **immigrants**. Some among the protesters could be seen on TV wielding machetes and sticks.

**The attacks have sent shockwaves** through the diplomatic, business and **human rights** circles. Although **the government** has condemned **the**

**violence**, there remains no clear strategy to contain it.

"Any lawlessness will not be tolerated," Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula told reporters at a briefing of the security ministerial cluster, where government promised to deploy more security personnel to hot spots.

Besides casting a negative spotlight on South Africa - Africa's most advanced economy - the latest violence has exposed the simmering socio-economic tensions that continue to dog the country 21 years since the demise of apartheid.

Millions of black South Africans remain unemployed, and about half of the country's population lives below the poverty line.

The violence has seen spaza shops and street stalls owned mostly by Somalis, Ethiopians, Malawians, Zimbabweans and other foreign nationalities from Africa looted. Businesses in central Durban were forced to close at noon yesterday as precaution against looting.

"We have had a lot of questions and queries as to whether the violence is anywhere near our hotel. Some people even cancelled their bookings at the last minute," a senior manager at one of Durban's leading hotels on the beachfront told Business Report.

Three camps have been established to house foreign nationals displaced by the violence, according to a city of Durban spokeswoman.

Smith and West Streets - two of the city's busiest roads - came to a standstill yesterday as protesters set on foreigners.

Meanwhile, about 20km north of Durban, police battled supporters of EFF, who were attempting to mount a land grab near the picturesque seaside town of Ballito.

Worrying time

Analysts and business commentators said the latest developments pointed to a worrying state of affairs in the country.

"This is a sad day for the country and its economic outlook. These people tried to revive ailing economies in most townships and now they are being attacked," Vusi Khumalo, the president of the SA Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Sacci) told Business Report.

He said: "The economic pressures that are currently facing a lot of South Africans because of the rise in the fuel price and electricity hikes are severe. They make them want to find the nearest scapegoat and unfortunately foreign-owned businesses become the first line of venting their frustrations."

Human Rights Watch yesterday described the unfolding scenes as damaging to South Africa's image as a centre of reconciliation.

Dewa Mavhinga, the organisation's senior researcher for Zimbabwe and southern Africa, said authorities were not doing enough to curb the spread of xenophobia in South Africa. "This is a serious blow to South Africa's image as a country that brought hope to the world. Its identity as the cradle of ubuntu and African humanity now stands to be forgotten as a thing of the past."

The violence adds a dangerous dimension to the challenges currently confronting President Jacob Zuma's administration, according to analysts.

That Eskom was again forced to implement massive power cuts yesterday to save the grid from total collapse pointed to the severity of the challenges. The power utility cut 4 000 megawatts from the grid, its biggest reduction since February as labour unrest forced contractors to halt construction at the Medupi power plant in Limpopo.

The construction of Medupi and that of Kusile power plant in Mpumalanga has been dogged

by delays that have now put South Africa on course to struggle with power shortages until at least 2019. Eskom is beset with aging infrastructure and a cash crunch that has forced the government to make a commitment to pump as much as R23 billion of liquidity into the utility.

#### Economic attack

Economist Richard Downing said if investors sensed that nothing or very little was being done to save Eskom they would take their business elsewhere.

Downing said South Africa needed to have a national response to all its crises from attacks on foreign nationals to the energy crisis. "We cannot survive in a situation where we look like we do not know what we are doing."

"We need to speak with a united voice and show the world that we are on top of the situation," he said.

On xenophobic attacks, Downing said: "An attack on foreign nationals is an attack on the economy because they add to our economic value chain of the country. Once they leave under the current circumstance they will certainly not have much good to tell about South Africa."

Traders said the markets remained oblivious to the latest developments as the rand had traded broadly firmer against the US dollar. They said the news had not yet filtered through into the market. In yesterday's trade the rand hit an intra-day low of R12.16 against the US dollar but clawed back some of the losses in late trade to hover around R12.

Nic Borain, a political and investment analyst at BNP Paribas Securities South Africa, said: "The xenophobic attacks in Durban won't have a direct impact on investor confidence. However, the attacks point to social instability."

"The attacks could be interpreted negatively as they indicate discontent about South Africa's

poor people. Investors typically have a quite sophisticated view of the long-term stability of South Africa."

He said "while the poor are expressing their discontent, the market believes that this is containable". But for small investors, like the Somalis, they would not be interested in investing in the current environment, he added.

#### Land grab

Regarding the debate about the country's symbols, a development that has also raised emotions, Borain said this would not drive investment but it did show that South Africa was an unsettled country. However, Borain did say that colonial statues being pulled down were not a 'huge issue' for investors.

"Eskom's woes were a hugely influential issue for investors," he added.

Turning to the topic of the move by EFF supporters to invade and grab private land in Ballito, Borain said there had been no reaction to this.

"The EFF, in their creative way, is riding popular discontent. It is part of the EFF's clever marketing campaign. The EFF is effectively jumping on the bandwagon."

Turning to overall investor confidence toward South Africa, Borain said one of the key concerns for investors was the local labour

environment. The collapse of Cosatu was seen as a possible catalyst for more labour unrest.

Late on Monday, Chris Nkosi, the general secretary of the SA Transport and Allied Workers Union (Satawu) in Gauteng, was gunned down on a highway in Johannesburg in what a Satawu spokesman said could have been an assassination. His murder comes amid tensions within Satawu's parent federation, Cosatu.

On the political front, there also appeared to be simmering tensions after Business Report's sister publication, The Star newspaper reported yesterday that ANC chairwoman Baleka Mbete believed that there was an internal plot to topple Zuma before he completed his second term.

Follow Business Report on Twitter: @busrep or @Ellis\_Mnyandu

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The Star (South Africa)  
April 15, 2015 Wednesday

E1 **Edition**

**Tolerance is an attitude of mind we need to cultivate;**

**Our multiculturalism is something to be proud of, so we ought to value foreigners and they us, writes Jessie Duarte**

**SECTION:** Pg. **11**

**LENGTH:** 994 **words**

Xenophobia and racialism are irrational attitudes stemming from a conception of creating a difference between us and the other. In their approach, they rely on a world view informed by stereotypes.

Xenophobia, more specifically, is based on the dislike and distrust of foreigners. Racism, on the other hand, derives from the notion that a particular group of people is superior to another. If the other is inferior, they are incapable of performing or expressing themselves in a way that qualifies them as people, and they can be discriminated against.

Fundamentally, though, both xenophobia and racialism are motivated by fear and a misconception of **belonging**.

South Africa is a multi-class, multi-cultural society with people from a multitude of origins. The majority is indigenous to the geographic space we occupy, whereas others came as colonists, slaves, labourers, **refugees** fleeing from persecution and so on.

In 1990, we made a decision to end strife in our country. The ANC chose to end the armed

struggle and negotiate with our enemies with the aim of creating a nation; a people diverse in their languages, cultural expressions and racial appearance. We decided our nascent nation would become a beacon of hope.

We jointly drafted a constitution, which laid out the minimum standards by which we would build our nation.

Human rights and the need for a tolerant society, given our diversity, were thought of as the ethos of this nation.

We cannot and must not lose sight of this as we move forward. We acknowledge the negative impact of patriarchy on the lives of women.

We must challenge the tradition and cultural norms that are harmful to the development of any person or community as not representing the ethos of human rights we fought for.

So too, as South Africans, the fear of other Africans and the deliberate mismanagement of their rights as human beings is wrong. A **refugee** is a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, lives outside their country of birth.

Each country has systems by which it accords **refugee** status to such vulnerable individuals. It is expected of the **refugee**, having sought asylum in a foreign country, to apply for such status.

The laws governing our country enable this process upon application. Although it often takes time, as it does in most countries, South Africa has been home to **refugees** from Mozambique, Burundi, the DRC, Somalia and other African countries where there was or is conflict. When our own war was ongoing we were given **refugee** status in Angola, Botswana,

Egypt, Libya, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and many other African as well as European and Asian countries.

The South Africans who lived in exile were subjected to the rule of law of the country they were accepted in.

Those who were able to work did so in terms of the work permits granted to **refugees** in those countries.

In most instances, **refugees** were confined to specific areas where they lived. Our decision as a nation, however, was to integrate **refugees** into communities so they live as normal a life as possible.

We need to assert the right of all South Africans to live wherever they choose or please.

The Khoisan genocide in the Western Cape was a murderous act that has not been properly documented and remains vague in our historical annals. That genocide was based on the obliteration of a group of people by the colonisers.

These events illustrate the deep-rooted anger and prejudice in our history.

It is critical that we take stock of what brought us to where we are and why we must avoid taking the road backwards, which further engenders racial prejudice or Afrophobia. It is equally important that foreigners living in South Africa should respect the rules that govern our country.

The complaints about foreigners taking over local economic activity are disconcerting. The situation is far more complex. South Africans sometimes rent out their shops to foreigners because they make more from the rent than they do as shopkeepers.

There are also allegations that some South African shop owners are behind the attacks on foreigners who run spaza shops in our townships.

As we advocate for the respect and protection of foreigners, we should also emphasise that foreigners should recognise that to be protected by the law, they must first obey it.

A business licence imposes obligations of paying tax, collecting vat on items sold and registering a business.

Illegal activity, as alleged, such as running a brothel or selling drugs from a business premises, is criminal whether it is a citizen of South Africa doing this or a foreigner.

South Africans who are unemployed find it difficult to accept that they are less qualified to be employed in sectors such as the security, agricultural or domestic work sectors of our economy.

We must condemn the notion that a **refugee** can be exploited and that **refugees and asylum seekers** are condemned to being cheap labour.

The reality is that many employers deliberately do not employ South Africans because they disrespect our labour laws. This is a problem we must mobilise on. The rights of all workers must be protected and unemployed.

South Africans must be given consideration for work opportunities before any other person may be considered. Charity must begin at home.

The ANC condemns xenophobia. Equally, we condemn non-compliance with the rule of law. We expect the police to protect every human life.

We also expect the police to act against illegal activity of any kind.

We do not live on an island, but are part of the continent of Africa.

As our countries continue to develop, we must expect that people will migrate throughout the continent.

Let us form street committees and zonal committees and exert our influence on all who



live in our communities and work together to condemn all actions that divert us from our goals.

Jessie Duarte is the deputy secretary-general of the **ANC**

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## **The Times**

The Times (South **Africa**)

**April 15, 2015 Wednesday**

### **Flames of hate engulf Durban**

**BYLINE:** Nivashni Nair, Matthew Savides; Graeme **Hosken**

**SECTION:** UNREST, CONFLICTS & **WAR**

**LENGTH:** 1040 **words**

**City centre is a battlefield** as government insists it's in control

We can't stay in our shops waiting for them to burn us

'People getting away with violence'

THE Durban city centre was a battlefield yesterday with mobs of South Africans attacking foreign-owned shops, and foreigners taking up arms to fight **back**.

About 200 people stoned foreign-owned shops on Dr Pixley KaSeme Street (West Street), prompting riot police to shut down the area.

**The battles broke out within an hour** of Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba assuring diplomats from Nigeria, Somalia, Malawi, Mozambique and Ethiopia that their citizens would be protected.

At the same time the ministers of the justice, crime prevention and security cluster tried to



assure the country that "everything was under control" and that there was no xenophobia.

They said the ongoing violence in Durban - which has left at least five people, including a 14-year-old, dead - was ideological.

In the past three weeks thousands of foreigners - from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Malawi and Tanzania - have been driven from their homes in Isipingo, Chatsworth, Umlazi, KwaMashu and Sydenham, and placed in transit camps in Isipingo and Chatsworth.

The violence followed comments Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini made in Pongola last month that foreigners should leave South Africa. He has denied saying this.

Yesterday, police warned shop owners on Dr Pixley KaSeme Street to stay in their shops as they used stun grenades, water cannons and rubber bullets to disperse the mob.

"Please help us. They want to kill us," Ethiopian shop owner Aka Bob Amaha said. "We can't stay in our shops waiting for them to burn us."

In another part of the city, foreigners who own shops on Point Road declared they were not willing to "be prey for South Africans". Armed with axes, machetes and sticks, about 1000 foreigners burned tyres, overturned bins and waited for the mob to arrive.

"We heard that they are attacking foreigners on West Street, and near The Workshop shopping centre so we are ready to fight back when they come here," a Nigerian man said.

Riot police battled for close to two hours to disperse the group.

Police resources were stretched as skirmishes broke out across the city.

Dozens of foreign nationals sought refuge at the Diakonia Council of Churches building near the Victoria Embankment.

Paramedics treated four people in the city centre.

"Three patients were stabbed. One patient was burnt. All patients are stable," Robert McKenzie, a paramedic with the KwaZulu-Natal Emergency Medical Services, said.

He said the burn case was in Dr Pixley ka Seme Street and private ambulances transported two of the patients.

Police spokesman Colonel Jay Naicker was unable to say whether any arrests had been made.

Earlier, Gigaba, who is leading the inter-ministerial team responsible for ending the xenophobic attacks, said the police would end the violence.

"We will arrest and prosecute to send the correct message."

He said President Jacob Zuma had issued a directive to remove foreigners from scenes of violence and to provide them with temporary shelter until they could be reintegrated into communities.

Speaking at a briefing of the justice, crime prevention and security cluster in Cape Town, Police Minister Nkosinathi Nhleko said: "I can tell you now that this so-called xenophobia is not that. It's more 'Afrophobia'. It's ideologically driven. But we are on top of it. We are in control and are handling the situation well."

"We have early-warning centres and a 24-hour hotline. But it requires the involvement of communities to stop this sporadic violence," he said

Asked why the government was refusing to use the term xenophobia, Nhleko said the violence was not aimed at all foreigners.

"It is African on African. It is not on other nationalities."

Asked about attacks at the weekend against Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals in Soshanguve, north of Pretoria, he again said the violence was ideologically driven.

"We have plans in place to address the violence. Like we did when it erupted in Soweto in January and like we did in 2008," he said, referring to xenophobic violence that gripped the country seven years ago and left 63 people dead.

Ingrid Palmary, an associate professor at the Wits African Centre for Migration and Society, said the government's comments were deeply frustrating.

"We are in the midst of some of the worst violence since the 1980s. It is targeted at foreigners, but the fact that it is not targeted at all foreigners doesn't mean that it's not xenophobic. The violence is still driven by anti-foreigner sentiment," she said.

What was surprising was how much the government invested in saying the violence was not xenophobia, Palmary said.

"It's alarming that there hasn't been a consistent and strong message from our leaders, with even tacit support [of the attacks] emerging from some [leaders]."

Palmary said there had not been a successful prosecution for xenophobia since 2008.

"It's clear people are getting away with this. Prosecutions are exactly where we should be focusing our attention to send out strong messages that this will not be tolerated.

"It [the increase of xenophobia] is something to be worried about. We must ask: if it's so easy for the fundamental rights of one group to be trampled, who is next?"

Trish Erasmus, head of the Lawyers for Human Rights refugee and migrant rights programme, criticised Nhleko's remarks that the situation was under control and that the violence was ideological.

"It's all very well to have academic debates about the causes of xenophobia, which are important for future prevention strategies, but at the same time we need to realise that we are dealing with an urgent crisis. We need a more coherent and decisive response from the government.

"It's clear the government hasn't learnt from its mistakes from 2008. In as much as hotlines, and early-warning centres might help, we need leaders to stop provoking the population into violence."

KNIFE EDGE: An immigrant waits in Point Road for gangs of locals that attacked foreign shop owners in the city centre yesterday. At least three people were stabbed and one burnt oMore pictures 10INTEN Picture: TEBOGO LETSIE

**LOAD-DATE:** April 16, 2015

**LANGUAGE:** ENGLISH

**PUBLICATION-TYPE:** Newspaper

**JOURNAL-CODE:** The Times, TT , TheTimes

# The Times

The Times (South Africa)

April 15, 2015 Wednesday

## XENOPHOBIA TO AFROPHOBIA

**BYLINE:** Staff Reporter

**SECTION:** UNREST, CONFLICTS & WAR

**LENGTH:** 187 words

BACK in 2008, after a wave of killings of foreigners, former president Thabo Mbeki said South Africa "bowed its head in shame" and promised that all would be done to prevent attacks in future.

But since then there have been many outbreaks of violence aimed at foreigners, mostly from neighbouring African countries.

Mbeki's government blamed criminal elements and refused to use the term "xenophobia".

He said: "Everything I know about my people tells me that ... [they] are not xenophobic. These masses are neither antipathetic towards, nor do they hate foreigners."

As violence spread in Durban and surrounding areas this week calls were made for President Jacob Zuma to address the nation.

His administration has resorted to issuing statements and holding press briefings condemning the violence.

Zuma has assigned three ministers to attend to the issue, which his officials insist should be called "Afrophobia".

Seven years ago, Mbeki said his government would "do everything possible and necessary to ensure that we have no need in future to proffer this humble apology, which is inspired by genuine remorse". -

**LOAD-DATE:** April 16, 2015

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# The Times

The Times (South Africa)

April 15, 2015 Wednesday

## We can conquer xenophobia only if we confront it

SECTION: OPINION & EDITORIAL

LENGTH: 300 words

Mbeki promised that we would never again see such violence

AGAIN we bow our heads in shame as the violence against foreigners continues unabated. Back in 2008, after a month of killing and looting, then president Thabo Mbeki promised the world that this nation would never again be guilty of such violence.

But his administration largely refused to recognise that the attacks on foreigners constituted xenophobia.

Mbeki blamed "criminal elements" for the attacks on immigrants and denied that South Africans were xenophobic.

Today the violence is once again blamed on "criminal elements". It is not called "xenophobia" but "Afrophia".

While the government is engaged in semantic evasions and pointing fingers, people die, shops are looted and homes are burned.

President Jacob Zuma's government must see the crisis for what it is.

The concerns that have been raised by South Africans must be acknowledged and dealt with, not ignored.

But the rights of foreigners must be acknowledged and respected.

It cannot be that this democracy, established in 1994 on the foundation of human rights, now neglects the victims of xenophobia.

Back in 2008 Mbeki promised that his administration "will act without any unnecessary delay to address all genuine concerns which may give birth to tensions between native and immigrant Africans".

"We will work to mobilise all our communities to isolate and defeat the evil elements in our midst who target vulnerable African migrants, subjecting them to violent attacks for criminal purposes and personal gain."

Were those goals achieved? Are we going to get the same promises from Zuma?

This nation and its government are failing to deal with the root cause of these attacks.

We continue to theorise, to argue and to abuse semantics.

Meanwhile, the country is burning.

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FOCUS - 250 of 500 DOCUMENTS

Cape Argus (South **Africa**)

**April 14, 2015 Tuesday**

**E1 Edition**

**Political parties are using old regime's **tactics****

**SECTION:** Pg. **12**

**LENGTH:** 337 **words**

I fully agree with every word Yonela Diko (Great man, great nation, Cape Points, April 8) wrote about Nelson Mandela.

The ANC has every right to claim him as a party figure, but the fact that he became an icon of hope for ordinary people worldwide is **undisputed**.

In South Africa the vision of a multicultural, non-racial family that Mandela, Albert Luthuli and Joe Matthews believed in was first embodied in the 1955 Freedom Charter that was endorsed by the Congress of the People. This unique document formed the cornerstone of our constitution.

**This is why we, the people of South Africa, black and whites together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopted the constitution and are willing to defend our rights by all means.**

Members of not only the ruling party but also the minority groups are fully aware of the turmoil within the ANC.

The resurgence of the "Charterists and Africanists" debate is disturbing. The ANC

leaders of the time took a firm multicultural Charterist stance.

Now, after all these years of freedom it appears that there are ANC members and other parties that are adopting the old racist regime's tactic of race mobilisation, to justify their Africanist aspirations. Jeremy Cronin called it the "Zanufication" of the ANC.

There is no point in hiding the truth about the present lack of presidential leadership in our country. Not a word from President Jacob Zuma about the millions of Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa or the utterances of Mugabe not wanting to see a white face during the dictator's state visit to South Africa.

Are the Zulu King Zwelithini's xenophobic comments made with Zuma and his son's blessing?

The question arises, are there any responsible ANC leaders with the courage to publicly uphold the spirit of the founding fathers and endorse

Mandela's words, "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world. Let freedom reign"?

Johann Vosloo

**Tamboerskloof**

**LOAD-DATE:** April 15, **2015**

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**THE HERALD**

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April 14, 2015 Tuesday**

**Repatriation after violence**

**LENGTH:** 729 **words**

**BYLINE:** Nivashni Nair, Graeme Hosken, Bongani Mthethwa, Taschica Pillay; **Afp**

**Malawi, Somalia** plan to rescue **citizens trapped by xenophobia** in KwaZulu-Natal

**SECTION:** **CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE**

MALAWI and Somalia are preparing to repatriate their citizens after weeks of xenophobic violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

Last night, the Somali embassy said it was trying to trace its citizens and help them escape the violence.

It has demanded urgent assistance from the Department of International Relations and Cooperation.

The Malawian government said it would be helping citizens living in South Africa to return to their homeland following the violence.

Malawian Information Minister Kondwani Nankhumwa said: "The situation is really tense as about 360 Malawians are stranded in South Africa following the xenophobic attacks there."

Nankhumwa said the Malawian embassy in Pretoria had started processing temporary travel documents for its nationals. "Malawians targeted have lost everything, including their passports."

It is unclear whether the Mozambican, Zimbabwean and Congolese governments have similar plans.

Fresh attacks took place in KwaMashu, north of Durban, again on Sunday and yesterday.

Thousands of foreigners are in transit camps after three weeks of violence in which five people are believed to have died.

International Relations and Cooperation Ministry spokesman Clayson Monyela declined to comment on the move by Malawi and Somalia.

Fears that the xenophobic violence will spread have been stoked by the statements of ANC leaders.

Human rights lawyers and political analysts yesterday criticised ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe for calling for the establishment of refugee camps for immigrants. They said his was a knee-jerk reaction.

Mantashe's call is the latest labelled as inciting. Two weeks ago, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini reportedly told a moral regeneration gathering that foreigners should leave the country.

Also in the past two weeks, President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, said South Africa was a ticking time bomb, with the risk of foreigners taking over.

And in an interview with The Sowetan, Police Minister Nathi Nhleko, who is part of a team appointed by Zuma to address the xenophobic violence, said serious crimes were mostly committed by undocumented people.

Yesterday, Mantashe reportedly told News24 the attacks should be seen as "Afrophobic".

"When African refugees walk in here ... they go to townships predominantly and there's a scramble for resources there and the tension takes the form of Afrophobia.

"I think it was a good gesture for us to say people must live naturally, but ultimately we must have refugee camps so that we can document people," he said.

Attempts to get further comment from Mantashe failed.

Experts say Mantashe's calls are part of the government's greater scheme to remove foreigners from the country, starting with the closure of refugee reception centres in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg last year.



Ingrid Palmay, an associate professor at the Wits African Centre for Migration and Society, said: "When the **refugee** reception centres were closed and moved to the borders the suggestion from this was that this is the first step towards encampment.

"One must remember that **refugees and asylum seekers** are only a small portion of those who move into the country. The majority of **foreigners** come on work, student or tourist visas.

"Camps are based on the assumption that people are based here permanently, but most **immigrants** come only for employment and return to their home countries."

Palmay said a big question was whether camps were constitutionally legal as they would deprive people of their right of freedom of movement.

"It's clear South Africa has serious problems. It's clearly **a crisis**. We need meaningful statements from **our leaders**."

Jacob van Garderen, of Lawyers for Human Rights, slammed the call for **refugee** camps.

"This call smacks of ostrich politics where you stick your head in the sand and pretend the problem isn't there," he said.

Political analyst Shadrack Gutto said there was a lack of government leadership in tackling xenophobia.

"We need a clear understanding on foreigners because at the moment we have some [Europeans and Asians] whom we love and hug and others [African] whom we kick, beat, burn and hate."

LOOTER ARRESTED: Police officers arrest a suspect who was stripping down a fridge at a shop that was looted in KwaMashu, north of Durban Picture: **TEBOGO LETSIE**

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**The Times**

**The Times (South Africa)**

**April 14, 2015 Tuesday**



## Ubuntu foreign to SA

**SECTION:** OPINION & EDITORIAL

**LENGTH:** 216 words

SOUTH Africa is a dangerous place for foreigners. They are frequently accused of stealing jobs and causing crime but there is no evidence to prove that they are, on the whole, guilty of these offences.

A distinctive attribute of the immigrants who want to make a living in this country is their determination and their entrepreneurial acumen. The Bangladeshis and Somalians have not stolen anyone's job.

The spaza shops they open are demonstrative of their work ethic. Unemployed South Africans must learn from the foreigners. Foreigners do not have a sense of entitlement, nor are they dependent on handouts. What they do have is an unwavering commitment to improve their quality of life.

The recent attacks on foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal - which have left four people dead and thousands displaced - are in danger of spiralling out of control.

Looting and murder are not the answers. We need a nuanced, humane response.

Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba and the rest of the task team assigned to counter the xenophobic attacks must respond with urgency. President Jacob Zuma's silence on the matter is deafening.

These attacks have to be averted at all costs. If left unchecked, I fear the killings could reach similar proportions to the Rwandan genocide of 1994. - Vijay Surujpal, Phoenix

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**The Times**

The Times (South Africa)

April 14, 2015 Tuesday

## Where are Zuma and Zwelithini as the killing goes **on**?

**SECTION:** OPINION & **EDITORIAL**

**LENGTH:** 330 **words**

Politicians too busy worrying about next year's poll

TO WHOM do we listen in the clamour of voices shouting about the xenophobic violence engulfing parts of our country? Mixed messages from government leaders and ruling party apparatchiks do not help the **situation**.

But what is clear is that no one has a plan for **dealing effectively with this crisis**.

**Until President Jacob Zuma appears on national television and radio and speaks to South Africans, press statements from his office will remain merely that - press statements.**

**It should not be difficult for Zuma to stand up and confront the crisis decisively and directly - and stop the bodies piling up.**

As a result of South Africa's poverty of leadership and lack of action, Malawi and Somalia are now seriously considering intervening to help their citizens flee this country. If that were to happen, it would put an ugly blot on our image.

We now expect Zuma to talk to King Goodwill Zwelithini, whose remarks to the effect that

foreigners must leave this country are at the centre of the crisis.

The king must act responsibly by calling on his subjects to stop attacking foreigners. He, together with top government leaders, should be seen on the streets of Durban and surrounding areas dealing with the situation.

A complication is that our politicians are looking at the crisis with one eye on next year's municipal elections.

The call by ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe for South Africa to establish **refugee** camps adds another dimension to the crisis.

How will **refugee** camps help us when our borders are so porous? Where will these camps be situated? Is this idea even feasible when the government is unable to manage the Lindela **refugee** camp effectively?

It would seem that our government has not learned from the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

Call it "Afrophobia" or "xenophobia", the bottom line is that our **fellow Africans** are being killed in our country, and unemployment and poverty cannot be used to justify **it**.

**LOAD-DATE:** April 16, **2015**

**LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH**

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**JOURNAL-CODE:** The Times, TT, **TheTimes**

All Rights **Reserved**Cape Argus (South **Africa**)**April** 13, 2015 **Monday**E1 **Edition****Ministers deployed by Zuma to curb KZN **violence******SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **6****LENGTH:** 615 **words**

**PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma** has assigned the ministers of **Home Affairs, Police and State Security** to work with the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government to arrest the violence and anti-foreigner sentiment that has broken out in some Durban residential areas.

In a statement issued by the Presidency yesterday, it said Zuma had deployed Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba, Minister of Police Nathi Nhleko and State Security Minister David Mahlobo to the violence-stricken **province**.

"The president strongly condemns violence against foreign nationals as well as the destruction of property and the looting of shops in Durban and in any part of the republic," the Presidency said.

"President Zuma has emphasised that government is addressing the issues that are being raised by citizens nationally, in particular, complaints about illegal and undocumented

**migrants**, the takeover of local shops and other businesses by foreign nationals as well as perceptions that foreign nationals perpetrate crime.

"The Department of Home Affairs which has largely been a governance and administration department, is being re-orientated into a security department and is being prepared to take its rightful place within the Justice and Crime Prevention Cluster. As part of this re-engineering of the department, 350 South African National Defence Force (SANDF) members are being transferred to the Home Affairs department for deployment to various ports of entry as immigration officials to enhance the capacity to curb illegal migration.

"Furthermore, the SANDF has deployed military personnel along the border line in seven provinces to curb border crime activities and illegal border crossings. Government is also making progress with establishing a Border Management Agency, which is a single entity that will manage the entire border environment and all ports of entry. The initiative will go a long way in tackling challenges of illegal and undocumented **migrants** and will also prevent security threats," Zuma said in the statement.

Zuma pointed out that all spheres of the government had also been directed to enforce laws and by-laws to curb the growth of illegal trading and unlicensed shops which appeared

to be of concern to citizens throughout the country.

"Government is also introducing more measures to support small businesses so that shopkeepers and other SMMEs in black residential areas that are under pressure can obtain assistance. We urge citizens to allow government to attend to these and other immigration challenges and to not take the law into their own hands," Zuma said.

The president said not all foreign nationals were living in South Africa illegally.

"Many foreign nationals have legal status and contribute meaningfully to the economy and the development of our country and also abide by the country's laws," Zuma said.

He said the police would arrest foreign nationals who engaged in criminal activities.

"We reiterate that there can be no justification for attacking foreign nationals. Those who are in the country illegally should be reported to the police and they will be returned to their countries of origin in a lawful manner. Citizens should also provide information to the police if they know of

foreign nationals who are engaged in criminal activities. They should not be attacked. We wish to emphasise that police will also take action against all people who engage in violence, including foreign nationals as well if they attack citizens," Zuma said.

The government would continue to provide support to refugees and asylum seekers as required in terms of international law and the country's own constitution which enshrines human rights and dignity, the Presidency added. - ANA

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Cape Times (South Africa)

April 13, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**Zuma beefs up xenophobia team**

**BYLINE:** African News Agency

**SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4****LENGTH: 628 words**

DURBAN: President Jacob Zuma has assigned the ministers of Home Affairs, Police and State Security to work with the KwaZulu-Natal government to stem the violence and anti-foreigner sentiment in some Durban areas.

In a statement issued by the Presidency yesterday, it said Zuma had deployed Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba, Minister of Police Nathi Nhleko and State Security Minister David Mahlobo to the violence-stricken province.

"The president strongly condemns violence against foreign nationals, as well as the destruction of property and the looting of shops in Durban and in any part of the republic," the Presidency said.

"President Zuma has emphasised that government is addressing the issues that are being raised by citizens nationally, in particular, complaints about illegal and undocumented migrants; the takeover of local shops and other businesses by foreign nationals; as well as perceptions that foreign nationals perpetrate crime.

"The Department of Home Affairs, which has largely been a governance and administration department, is being reoriented into a security department and is being prepared to take its rightful place within the Justice and Crime Prevention Cluster.

"As part of this re-engineering of the department, 350 South African National Defence Force (SANDF) members are being transferred to the Home Affairs Department for deployment to various ports of entry as immigration officials to enhance the capacity to curb illegal migration.

"Furthermore, the SANDF has deployed military personnel along the border line in seven provinces to curb border crime activities and illegal border crossings. Government is also making progress [with establishing a border management agency, which is a single entity that will manage the entire border environment and all ports of entry]."

Zuma said all spheres of government had also been directed to enforce laws and by-laws to curb the growth of illegal trading and unlicensed shops, which appeared to be of concern to citizens throughout the country.

"Government is also introducing more measures to support small businesses so that shopkeepers and other SMMs in black residential areas that are under pressure can obtain assistance. We urge citizens to allow government to attend to these and other immigration challenges, and to not take the law into their own hands," Zuma said.

Zuma also reminded citizens that not all foreign nationals were living in South Africa illegally.

"Many foreign nationals have legal status and contribute meaningfully to the economy and the development of our country, and also abide by the country's laws."

Zuma said police were working hard to arrest foreign nationals who engaged in criminal activities, and many arrests and convictions were being announced publicly.

"We reiterate that there can be no justification for attacking foreign nationals. Those who are in the country illegally should be reported to the police and they will be returned to their countries of origin in a lawful manner," he said.

"Citizens should also provide information to the police if they know of foreign nationals who are engaged in criminal activities. They should not be attacked. We wish to emphasise that police will also take action against all people who

engage in violence, including foreign nationals as well if they attack citizens."

The government would continue to provide support to refugees and asylum seekers as required in terms of international law and the country's own constitution, which enshrines human rights and dignity, the Presidency added.

"We thank all religious leaders, non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders around Durban who are providing humanitarian assistance. We should work together to find a solution to this challenge," added Zuma.

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**Mail & Guardian**

Mail & Guardian

April 13, 2015

## Thousands mob KwaMashu police as xenophobic attacks continue

**BYLINE:** News24.com

**SECTION:** NATIONAL

**LENGTH:** 763 words

**HIGHLIGHT:** The IFP in KwaZulu-Natal has called for aid after a mob "of thousands" overran police on Sunday as xenophobic attacks spread throughout the province.

Foreign-owned shops in the township of in KwaMashu in KwaZulu Natal were looted and torched on Sunday evening as locals attempted to drive out immigrants from other African states. Inkatha Freedom Party spokesperson Mdu Nkosi said police officers were

overwhelmed by the advancing mob on Sunday."The councillor from A Section and the men's hostel informed me that last night [Sunday] he had done his best to try and appease the mob that had gathered but he was powerless. There were thousands of them and they even overran the police," he said."I am told that the police failed to disperse this mob that went on to rampage on the streets and destroy shops."Xenophobia spreading to all of Durban'

Nkosi said that they had called for calm, and would continue to do everything necessary to settle the crowd."This issue of xenophobia is not something that is limited to a specific ward and we see it now spreading to the whole of Durban."These people [foreign nationals] did not just appear here and while the overwhelming narrative is that they are here illegally and contribute towards high rates of crime, the ones being targeted are honest business people who have every right to trade in South Africa."These people uplift the economy and now there is an effort to drive them out. The government needs to step in.

They are our brothers and sisters and our councillors will continue to try and settle the situation," he said.Temporary shelter set up

This came as the situation in Durban's townships remained tense with sporadic violence, usually perpetrated at night.eThekweni Deputy Mayor Nomvuzo Shabalala visited residents at Bottlebrush informal settlement in Chatsworth where she urged locals to allow displaced foreign nationals to return to the community.Currently temporary shelter has been set up in Isipingo, Chatsworth and Greenwood Park to accommodate the displaced foreign nationals and additional police have been deployed to beef up security in all affected areas."The municipality has supplied tents, electricity, showers, ablution facilities and primary health care in the form of mobile clinics where the displaced foreign nationals have been accommodated," eThekweni

spokesperson Tozi Mthethwa said. SA needs refugee camps

After the xenophobic attacks this weekend, ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe says people must be educated on the issue of "afrophobia".Mantashe also believes the solution to the so-called xenophobia in the country is establishing refugee camps."It's afrophobia and if you look into the content you will see that it's afrophobia, because when African refugees walk in here they walk in here and go to townships predominantly and there's a scramble for resources there and the tension takes the form of afrophobia."I think it was a good gesture for us to say people must live naturally, but ultimately we must have refugee camps so that we can document people."Last year the SA Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) said the term xenophobia, which has been used to describe the violence against foreigners, should be called afrophobia.SAHRC chairperson, advocate Mabedle Lawrence Mushwana reportedly said at the time that there was a difference between xenophobia and violence committed against African foreigners in South Africa.In KwaZulu-Natal on Friday, shops belonging to foreigners were looted in Durban's Umlazi township. Two people thought to be Somalians were critically injured when their shop, in a shipping container, was petrol-bombed in W Section, Umlazi.KwaZulu-Natal police said over 1 000 immigrants had fled their homes following violent attacks by Durban locals.Soweto unrest

Attacks on foreigners flared up in Gauteng in January after 14-year-old Sipiwe Mahori was shot dead outside a Somali-owned shop in Snake Park, Soweto, allegedly by shop owner Alodixashi Sheik Yusuf. A group of people was apparently trying to break into his shop.This led to a wave of looting of foreign-owned shops, which spread from Soweto to Kagiso on the West Rand and Sebokeng in the Vaal. Several people were killed, including a baby boy trampled by a group of looters.Mantashe



explained that people needed to be educated on the issue, which he blamed on poverty."The only thing that you can educate people on is when there are **refugee** camps and there is a clear relationship of communities and the **refugee** communities."What complicates the matter is that you have those **refugees** here documented, and you have other people who just walk in and they come here illegally and that complicates that space, and it becomes more complicated." - News24.com

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 13, 2015 Monday**

**E1 Edition**

## How xenophobia threatens us and our future;

### Comment

**SECTION:** Pg. **8**

**LENGTH:** 829 **words**

Most Mercury readers, I guess, are those unlikely to feel directly threatened by xenophobia and have a sense of distance from the issues.

My warning is that xenophobia is a danger, not just to **African foreigners**, but to all of us. It is a way in which **violence is condoned and even**

**celebrated, and we are all potentially the victims of such violence. It is a knife at our throats.**

In the debates over Cecil John Rhodes and his legacy an element has not been touched on, that the colonial powers and Rhodes himself fixed borders and determined boundaries between African people. African states, at the end of colonialism, felt that they had little choice but to accept these borders as given. What we are not compelled to do is to emphasise the differences created by these largely artificial **borders.**

Once this is done, **populist politicians** can easily blame **foreigners** in the country for their own **failings**, or make a name for themselves based on displays of **aggression** against **foreigners**. This has happened in Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast. In some countries, laws that deny citizenship to those whose parents were born



elsewhere have been used against political opponents.

Why do I think the current attacks are damaging to all of us and not just to the immediate casualties?

First, the xenophobic attacks are displays and celebrations of criminality. When South Africans complain about crime but are complacent at seeing acts of assault and theft, we are not truly committed to end crime. If you can justify criminal action against others, then on what basis do you challenge it when you are the target? Further, if people who are openly involved in attacking foreigners and looting from them are not charged, it weakens the credibility of policing.

Secondly, the attacks reinforce the belief that violence is the way to resolve conflict and undermine the democratic institutions set up to resolve conflicts.

Thirdly, this is a systematic process of undermining the culture of human rights central to our constitution. South Africans know that the constitution confers rights on us. I think some do not know that it goes further, it "enshrines the rights of all people in our country", South Africans or not. These rights should be advanced both through legal structures and people's everyday conduct. Instead, we are witnessing the direct violation of our rights.

Fourthly, xenophobia entrenches racism. This is creating a new racial category, with its own stereotypes, its own racist names. It affirms the logic of racism that has continued to divide our society and create enmity and exclusion.

Finally, the civic leader in New Germany Road informal settlement who said that foreigners must go because "their businesses are thriving and ours are not" captured an important point. By implication, success is threatening and the successful must be punished.

Leave us to be a nation of losers.

Migrants bring skills and initiative. Remove the migrants, and you remove elements of innovation that the economy and the society need. The civic leader thinks "our businesses" will thrive in the absence of migrants, not realising that businesses run without skill and hard work will fail, competition or not.

We have a lot to learn from foreigners who set up businesses with little capital and no government support. South Africans could be going into business with them, but this requires a climate of mutual trust that is currently being undermined.

One must tackle the justification of xenophobia based on the criminal behaviour of some migrants with contempt. We South Africans would be hugely offended if we were all judged internationally on the basis of the criminal activities of some of our compatriots. The same applies to foreigners: apprehend the criminals, support the law-abiding.

Those who demand the removal of "illegal" foreigners should first insist that processes are followed to legalise the presence of those who are legitimately here.

Given these dangers, what needs to be done? One element is highlighting the experiences of South Africans in exile. I interviewed one who spoke of the remarkable hospitality he received in Zambia while in military training. Beyond hospitality, there were those foreigners who harboured South African exiles and died as a result.

Finally, we are witnessing a shocking failure of leadership. We need clear and unequivocal statements from leaders - political, civic, traditional - backed with systematic and impartial policing. It was heartening to hear the eThekweni mayor's representative on radio, spelling out the issues around foreigners - their rights, the difficulties they face - and to read of local and provincial leadership's positive interventions. It was heartening to hear

Mangosuthu Buthelezi denouncing the attacks, and reminding us of our role in the AU. There has, though, been silence, or worse, from too many other leaders.

I Hemson is the director of the International Centre of Nonviolence, Durban University of Technology.

**LANGUAGE: ENGLISH**

**PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper**

**JOURNAL-CODE: NM**

**LOAD-DATE:** April 14, 2015

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 13, 2015 Monday

E1 Edition

**SECTION:** Pg. 7

**LENGTH:** 468 words

The lead story on the front page of The Mercury (April 10) records the plight of desperate refugees, who have fled violence, crime, tribal conflict and poverty in their homelands. Now, in the place where they thought they had found refuge, they are terrorised and traumatised, their homes and businesses trashed, as they are hounded by baying mobs.

Another article details the latest episodes in the "relics of our colonialist past" saga. Mobs have indignantly toyi-toyed and pontificated around the plinths of these hated and passionately defended symbols of imperialism and white supremacism and political systems that are now the stuff of history books.

One article focuses on so-called xenophobia and the other on expressions of racism.

On one side, we see the terror etched on the faces of displaced Somalis and Zimbabweans, living testimony to the very real and present evil of xenophobia. On the other, mute lumps of marble and bronze bear unresponsive testimony to past outworkings of racism.

Both xenophobia and racism grow from a common seed: a fear of/a hatred of/a feeling of superiority to others who have a different ethnic origin.

Call them what you will, xenophobia and racism are not only excuses for crimes against humanity, they more pertinently are seen by God as "sin".

We read in Malachi 3:5 of how "He (God) hates the oppression of orphans and widows and the lack of kindness and acceptance towards aliens, those without a home".

John Piper writes in Bloodline that "every ethnic group should be warned against speaking with moral smugness about the sins of others ... we are all prone to self-righteousness because of how clearly we see the sins of others ... we think we have progressed out of sins into greater righteousness when in fact we are probably as soft on our own sins as previous generations were on theirs".

We can pray that the same hands which are so intent on pulling down the silent monuments, and those which are just as intent in their desperation to keep them in place, will also be ministering care and compassion to those who are being tormented simply because they are ethnically "different".

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe's cynical comments about illegal **immigrants** from his country to this should be noted in the context of the paper's lead article. He describes those beaten and bloodied by their hosts as having "... really offended ... by jumping your borders and disturbing (South Africa's) social systems".

Thus speaks a man who bears responsibility for doing far more than merely "disturbing" the social systems of his own country and whose policies have resulted in his compatriots fleeing over the Limpopo, and who perhaps, by his comments, provides those set on perpetrating acts of xenophobic violence with a perverted justification.

Rowan Phillips

**Morningside**

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Pretoria News (South **Africa**)

**April 13, 2015 Monday**

**E1 Edition**

**Presidency moves to deal with xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal**

**LENGTH:** 379 **words**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **2**

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma has assigned the ministers of Home Affairs, Police and State Security to work with the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government to arrest the violence and anti-foreigner sentiment that has broken out in some Durban residential **areas**.

The Presidency said yesterday Zuma had deployed Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba, the Minister of Police Nathi Nhleko, and State Security Minister David Mahlobo to the violence-stricken province.

"The president strongly condemns violence against foreign nationals as well as the destruction of property and the looting of shops in Durban and in any part of the Republic," the Presidency said.

"President Zuma has emphasised that the government is addressing the issues being raised by citizens nationally, in particular, complaints about **illegal and undocumented migrants**, the **takeover of local shops and other businesses by foreign nationals** as well as perceptions that **foreign nationals perpetrate crime**.

"The Department of Home Affairs, which has largely been a governance and administration department, is being re-orientated into a security department and is being prepared to take its rightful place within the Justice and

Crime Prevention Cluster (JCPS). As part of this re-engineering of the Department, 350 SANDF members are being transferred to the Home Affairs Department for deployment to various ports of entry as **immigration officials** to enhance the capacity to curb illegal migration.

"Furthermore, the SANDF has deployed military personnel along the border line in seven provinces to **curb border crime activities and illegal border crossings**. The government is also making progress with establishing a **Border Management Agency**, which is a single entity that will **manage the entire border environment and all ports of entry**. The initiative will go a long way in **tackling challenges of illegal and undocumented migrants** and will also prevent security threats," Zuma said.

Lovesol

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

**Sowetan (South Africa)**

April 13, 2015 Monday

## Rendition police officers 'must account'

**BYLINE:** Moipone Malefane

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 429 words

THE police officers who were involved in the rendition of Zimbabwean nationals must account for their actions, according to Police Minister Nathi Nhleko.

He said some politicians have accused him of suspending former Hawks boss Anwa Dramat despite a second report into the renditions which stated that Dramat was not responsible for them.

"We have a particular issue of this serious nature where it is alleged people have died, (and) we are investigating and want to establish the truth. I want to see action and there has got to be accountability.

"How can something like this happen? Is it really possible that it happened in the manner it is alleged to have happened? I am particular about this because, as a country, we are known in the world for protecting human rights," he said.

SA had "a horrific history" and people in the army and police used to abduct and kill people in neighbouring countries.

"The question that arises is do we still have that kind of culture in the police service. We may downplay this thing by saying they are Zimbabweans, but the fact is human life is human life," Nhleko said.

He has hired Werksmans attorneys to investigate why the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (Ipid) ended up with two reports on the renditions but with different recommendations.

The first report identified Dramat and Major-General Shadrack Sibiya for allegedly kidnapping and torturing the Zimbabweans. It was released before Robert McBride became Ipid's head.

After McBride took over as head of Ipid in March last year, he released another report clearing Sibiya and Dramat.

McBride is currently challenging his own suspension in court.

Nhleko said the original report recommended Dramat and Sibiya be charged for kidnapping and defeating the ends of justice. The second report stated that Dramat and Sibiya should not be held accountable but that others should still be charged.

"Now here is the problem: we have a situation of two reports, then we are told they are progress reports," Nhleko said.

He said if those involved were not punished, SA would wake up one day to find that the democratic institutions it had built contained people who had been in cahoots with the forces of regime change in other countries.

"Then what do we say as politicians? We wake up and deny. That is why I acted and put those involved on suspension."

Nhleko said he was expecting a report on April 24 on the rendition issue and was also awaiting a report from a reference group that was investigating the efficiency of the South African Police Service's **management**.

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 13, 2015 Monday

'king is right, **illegal immigrants** must **go**'

statements on **foreigners** saying there is validity in what he **said**.

**BYLINE:** Moipone **Malefane**

He said **Zwelithini** never said the **foreigners** should leave the country but stated that **those that were undocumented should leave**.

**SECTION:** **CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE**

In an exclusive interview in Pretoria on Friday, **Nhleko** revealed that he met with Zwelithini last week where they both agreed that there were criminal elements that were now **attacking foreigners** in KwaZulu-Natal following his statement.

**LENGTH:** 481 **words**

Nhleko says attacks on **foreigners** are **not xenophobic but Afrophobic leave**

Nhleko added that **serious crimes in the country were mostly committed by undocumented people** whose finger prints were not on **the government's register**.

Political Editor

**POLICE** Minister Nathi Nhleko has come out in support of **Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini**

"The validity is in so far as that **the government itself is also battling with this issue of how to control our borders**. **The department of home**

affairs is the champion for setting up border management which will see the participation of other departments including the police.

"There is also validity in that certain serious crimes are committed by undocumented people, I have seen it in Johannesburg when there are mall robberies, seen it around Cape Town, somebody stages a robbery and does not even attempt to hide his face, leaves the finger prints. An ordinary documented person will not do that," Nhleko said.

More than two weeks ago Zwelithini said foreigners were involved in criminal activities including rape while enjoying the country's wealth at the expense of South Africans. Since his call, there have been attacks on foreign nationals in KwaZulu-Natal leading to most leaving their homes for temporary shelters.

Zwelithini was reported in Isolezwe as saying: "Ngicela uhulumeni asilekelele. Sekuyisikhathi sokuthi abantu benwaye izintwala zabo nathi sichobe ezethu. Siyacela ukuthi abantu bokufika bathathe imithwalo yabo bahambe." (The government must help us. The time has come for everyone to go back to his country and we will remain in ours. Let us expose lice in our blankets and let them fall off by themselves. We are asking foreigners to pack their bags and leave.)

While Nhleko condemned the attacks saying they were not xenophobic but Afrophobic, he

said there was a situation where the colonised mind decides to embark on self-hate.

"What we are witnessing is Afrophobia. We need to deal with it." He said the law enforcement should arrest those who break the law while there was also a need to work on the African mind, about situations of this particular nature. "His [Zwelithini]'s context was our borders were porous, people were walking in and out without any documentation. If we continue to allow that situation, we'll end up not being able to trace them and that contributes to the escalation of crime."

AGREES WITH KING: Police Minister Nathi Nhleko in Pretoria

Photo: PUXLEY MAKGATHO

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**The Times**

The Times (South Africa)

April 13, 2015 Monday



## Hate and fear in KZN

**BYLINE:** Matthew Savides, Ulemu Teputepu

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 548 words

They attack us and take our things, say we must go home

MATTHEW SAVIDES

ZIMBABWEAN Sthulisile Mpofu was at home on Saturday when a group of men knocked on her door and threatened to beat her if she did not leave immediately.

Fearing for her life, she left her home in Welbedacht, in Chatsworth, Durban, taking her two children with her. Her television, DVD player, loudspeakers, cash and other property were looted.

Speaking from a transit camp in Chatsworth yesterday, Mpofu said she was worried about what might happen to her children as xenophobic violence rages across the city.

"It's not fair to the kids to see people abuse us. We are here to work because of difficulties at home. But now they attack us and take our things. They say we must go back home," she said.

In the wake of the violence, President Jacob Zuma yesterday assigned Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba, Police Minister Nathi Nhleko and State Security Minister David Mahlobo to lead a team that will work with the KwaZulu-Natal police and the provincial government "to arrest the violence".

Zuma condemned the attacks and the looting but said the government had to ensure that immigrants were in South Africa legally.

Since the first attacks in Isipingo three weeks ago, between 1500 and 2000 foreigners - mainly Malawians, Zimbabweans, Ethiopians and Mozambicans - have been forced from their homes. There have been five confirmed deaths.

Shops have been looted and destroyed.

On Friday night two Ethiopian brothers were locked in their shop, which was then petrol-bombed. One of the men died in hospital.

Police said last week that 17 people had been arrested for public violence.

They have increased the number of patrols in the affected areas, which include Isipingo, Chatsworth and Umlazi.

Police spokesman Major Thulani Zwane said yesterday that the situation was "quiet" overnight.

But there were unconfirmed reports of violence in Lamontville late yesterday afternoon.

Many of the foreigners attribute the attacks to comments by King Goodwill Zwelithini in Pongola last month.

In a recording now available online, Zwelithini can be heard saying: "We ask foreigners to pack their belongings and go back to their countries."

His office has reacted angrily to the suggestion that the violence was sparked by his comments. Spokesman Prince Thulani Zulu told the Sunday Times: "The people who are dying are the king's people. It's very sad to the king that his people are killing each other.

"People in Pongola heard what the king said and people in Pongola are not fighting. These are just thugs. The king has never said that people must be killed."



But many of the displaced foreigners said Zwelithini's comments were quoted by their attackers, particularly during the initial wave of violence.

Zimbabwean consul-general Batiraishe Mukonoweshuro told The Times that there had been anti-foreigner "vibes" for some time but the attacks could have been sparked by "careless" statements.

Without naming Zwelithini, Mukonoweshuro said: "There have been careless statements made, and people have taken advantage of that. Some elements have taken the law into their own hands."

He said there was also an element of common criminality, vandalism and thuggery in the

attacks. - Additional reporting by Ulemu Teputepu

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The Sunday Independent (South Africa)

April 12, 2015

E1 Edition

**Church leaders call for calm as xenophobia shakes KZN**

**BYLINE:** Vivian Attwood

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 6

**LENGTH:** 1102 words

RELIGIOUS leaders have urged the people of KwaZulu-Natal to remember their "shared humanity" as they yesterday joined political parties in condemning xenophobic attacks that swept across Durban this week.

Several hundred foreign nationals sought refuge in, among other places, Chatsworth outside Durban, as xenophobic violence forced them to flee their homes.

Father Peter Lafferty, commissioner for refugees of the Catholic Archdiocese of Durban, said the archdiocese condemned unreservedly anyone who tried to ignite or

encouraged hatred, conflict or violence in communities. This was contrary to the teachings of the Gospel and to the South African concept of ubuntu, he said.

"The church is committed to supporting all people in need, regardless of religion, nationality, race, gender or culture. The church, with its organisations and parishes, is involved in providing food, shelter, assistance and comfort to those who are suffering and on the margins of society.

"Sadly, there are many people in our country - South Africans and foreign nationals - who feel vulnerable, powerless, defenceless and unheard."

Lafferty said the church had an important role to play in building bridges and in helping people to learn to engage with each other and respect each other's differences.

"Parishes are often places in which people from different backgrounds come together and get to know each other and ultimately see each other as neighbours.

"For example, we have for a number of years been running healing workshops in which South Africans and refugees come together to heal the memories of trauma. Often in hearing other people's stories we learn that there is more that unites us than divides us. "Over the years we have witnessed situations in which South Africans have come to the need of refugees and refugees have come to the need of South Africans. This is the real spirit of ubuntu."

Maulana Ahmed Yusuf Mahomed, of the Jamiatul Ulama KZN, the council of Muslim theologians, said the xenophobia being played out in parts of KwaZulu-Natal was tragic.

"We have come a long way from the dark days of apartheid. Having a history of such a hard-fought and gained liberation should propel us as a nation never to allow such discrimination against any human beings again, irrespective of

race, colour, creed, ethnicity, religion, nationality or origin. "As South Africans we can never ever forget that people of various countries across the globe not only opened their borders for our liberation fighters, but also opened their hearts and homes in our hour of need."

Mohamedy said South Africa has a rich history of fighting oppression.

"How is it that the same is now not afforded to the foreign nationals who have come here for whatever reason - for better economic prospects or seeking refuge and safety in our country for political reasons?

"The government needs to send out a strong message and it must be emphatic that this form of racism will never be tolerated in the free South Africa. Such a crucial message needs to filter down to grass-roots level, where the message is clearly heeded and understood.

"The ANC, when in exile and banned in its own country, was given a home by so many governments, especially in Africa, and today we see with anguish that the very victims of xenophobic violence are Africans, our neighbours.

"The lessons of sharing, caring and empathy for our fellow human beings - in addition to the liberation struggle from the perspective of foreign assistance received by our liberation stalwarts - should be entrenched in the school curriculum as a lesson about selflessness and the indomitable human spirit. One life lost is one too many. "The Prophet Muhammad mentioned: 'All of mankind are the children of Adam.' On behalf of the Muslim community we pray and seek the help of Almighty God, that He bless our nation with peace, tolerance and harmony for all the people of this land and the entire globe."

Mahomedy added that the Jamiatul Ulama KZN undertook the feeding of xenophobia victims of

all faiths in the Isipingo sports grounds on Friday.

The organisation "will continue to assist wherever possible. We are a non-profit, humanitarian, community-based organisation that assists people of all races and faiths."

Ashwin Trikamjee, of the Hindu Maha Saba, asked what had gone wrong with South Africans. "The killing of innocents. Violent disagreements. Aggressive debates. Intolerant attitudes. These are the order of the day as we South Africans appear to have lost our humanity, our tolerance, our compassion and our reason.

"Is it not time for all of us to speak out against this unacceptable behaviour and for faith leaders to restore the voice of reason in our society?

"Let us collectively, without blaming others, get together and rekindle that wonderful feeling of camaraderie, of good neighbourliness, of compassion and sharing as we strive to make our beautiful society a peaceful and proud one. Let us agree to disagree, but do so in a civil manner, without any hatred, without animosity and without bearing any grudge. None of that is necessary.

"Our faith in the Divine must never be compromised in any situation. We must continue to foster and nurture that faith in the Divine. It is the only way forward. Let us pray."

Saydoon Nisa Sayed, of the Religions For Peace group, said South Africans had the ability to address the violence with their "soft skills" of communication, listening, showing empathy, care, passion and compassion, and the values of not discriminating. "We have good skills in

transforming a bad situation to one that works for the betterment of humanity,"she said. "We were discriminated against formerly on the basis of skin colour and we South Africans currently discriminate against foreigners, who in many cases are in not in our country by choice. "Please do not take your personal frustration out on people who speak a foreign or different language. We can negotiate a way forward where we can all live together in harmony.

"I write this in the hope that we can find a lasting solution to the way foreigners are treated and that we people of faith, using our assets of morality and values, can help facilitate this change and bring a complete halt to violence. One person injured or one life lost is one too many."

The Jewish community of KwaZulu-Natal was not able to respond as its |chief rabbi was following the strict observances required during the Passover celebration.

On Thursday, the Diakonia Council of Churches held a prayer vigil against xenophobia, on the steps of the Durban City Hall.. This was supported by clerics from all major **religions**.

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Sunday Tribune (South Africa)

April 12, 2019

E1 Edition

## Problem cannot be ignored

SECTION: Pg. 20

LENGTH: 353 words

The clarion call by King Goodwill Zwelithini to deport illegal immigrants has been galvanised by an unlikely source: the president's son, Edward Zuma.

This problem is not peculiar to South Africa but is a worldwide social menace that invades society like a plague.

Saudi Arabia is battling the same problem with work permits and residency permits having expired long ago.

In 2011 France deported 37 000 illegal aliens; in 2012 the US sent an estimated 40 000 packing and Belgium a staggering 80 000.

Foreigners pose many problems in South Africa, with the most prevalent undercutting the labour market by accepting lower wages.

Inexperienced, ill-equipped and saddled with fake credentials, they seek work in the security and transport industries - which ultimately results in the deaths of innocent people.

Local bosses exploit this. Where locals could be employed, foreigners are getting the jobs.

This ethnic salad also breeds dangerous criminal activities such as drugs, prostitution and human trafficking.

And if that is not enough, we have international foreign crime syndicates such as the European mafia and Chinese triads which, besides leaving a trail of death and misery, flout monetary regulations and evade taxes.

Besides gobbling up premium real estate and illegal money laundering, a lot of money leaves the country unaccounted for.

In collusion with corrupt Home Affairs officials, fake documents are issued - which abets the application for false identity documents and marriage certificates, social, child-support and disability grants.

Our schools are overloaded and there is not enough medicine in the hospitals to dispense to needy patients. People who have paid taxes all their lives and are entitled to such social and welfare services have to do without.

There is a visible stress on these essential services and the cracks have been showing through recent xenophobic violence and the looting of foreign-owned spaza shops across the country.

The government of the day has to act because the failure to address this widespread problem undermines public confidence in the ruling party.

Kevin Govender

Shallcross

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Sunday Tribune (South **Africa**)

**April 12, 2015**

**E2 Edition**

**Call for tolerance and compassion**

parishes provide food, shelter, assistance and comfort to those suffering and on the margins of society.

**BYLINE:** Vivian **Attwood**

"Sadly, many in our country, South Africans and foreigners, feel vulnerable, powerless, defenceless and unheard."

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **4**

He said the church had an important role to play in building bridges and helping people to learn to engage and respect differences.

**LENGTH:** 484 **words**

"Local parishes are often where people from different backgrounds get to know each other and see each other as neighbours. For example, for years we've run healing workshops in which South Africans and refugees come together to deal with traumatic memories.

In a week of deaths and thousands of foreigners fleeing rampaging mobs, religious leaders urged people in KwaZulu-Natal to remember their shared humanity.

Father Peter Lafferty, Commissioner for Refugees of the Catholic Archdiocese of Durban, said the church condemned anyone who encouraged hatred, conflict or violence in communities.

"Often in hearing others' stories we learn there is more that unites us than divides us. Over the years we've had situations in which South Africans have helped refugees and they have helped South Africans. This is the real spirit of ubuntu."

"The church is committed to supporting all in need. The church, its organisations and

Moulana Ahmed Yusuf Ma-homedy of the Jamiatul Ulama KZN (the council of Muslim

theologians), said the current spate of xenophobia in parts of the province was not only tragic but ironic.

"We have come a long way from the dark days of apart-heid. Having a history of such a hard-fought liberation should propel us to never allow any discrimination again.

"We cannot forget people not only opened their countries to our liberation fighters, but also their hearts and homes in our hour of need."

"The government needs to send out a strong message that this form of racism will not be tolerated and the message must be clearly understood at grass-roots level.

"On behalf of the Muslim community, we pray and seek the help of almighty God that He bless our nation with peace, tolerance and harmony."

Mahomedy said the Jamiatul Ulama KZN fed victims of xenophobia in Isipingo yesterday and would "continue to assist wherever possible".

Ashwin Trikamjee of the Hindu Maha Saba said: "We appear to have lost our humanity, tolerance, compassion and reason.

"It's time for us all to speak out against this unacceptable behaviour and for leaders of faith to restore the voice of reason in our society."

Saydoon Nisa Sayed of the Religions For Peace group said: "We have the skill to transform a bad situation to one that works for the betterment of humanity. We can find a way to live in harmony."

The Jewish community of KZN was not able to respond as its chief rabbi was following the strict observances that form part of the holy Passover celebration.

The Diakonia Council of Churches held an anti-xenophobic prayer vigil on Thursday at Durban City Hall.

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Sunday Tribune (South Africa)

April 12, 2015

E2 Edition

Politicians condemn the attacks

**BYLINE:** VIVIAN **ATTWOOD**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **4**

**LENGTH:** 310 **words**

Political parties have condemned the xenophobic attacks across Durban this week and expressed sympathy for the families of the deceased and those who were injured.

Sihle Zikalala, provincial ANC secretary, said the party in KwaZulu-Natal was appalled at the growing attacks on foreign nationals in the province.

"The ANC never condones the attack or abuse of any person, regardless of their race, gender or nationality."

Zikalala commended interventions to assist those who had been displaced.

"We commend the role played by the provincial government in making sure that those who have been displaced are provided with shelter."

The DA Shadow Deputy Minister of Police, MP Zakhele Mbhele, on Friday called for urgent government intervention to quell the xenophobic violence that led to at least four deaths this week.

"The DA extends heartfelt condolences to the families of those who have been killed and affected by the looting and violence," he said.

"I will be writing to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Baleka Mbete, to request a national

debate on the failure of the Minister of Police to present a plan to contain the rise of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

"The minister needs to explain why these incidents have been allowed to fester, and should table plans to counter the rise of xenophobia."

IFP National Chairman, Blessed Gwala, said the party condemned the violence "in the strongest possible terms".

"These attacks go against the grain of ubuntu botho (human kindness). These individuals come from countries that provided shelter to our political refugees during apartheid.

"(The violence) has highlighted the scarcity of resources and job opportunities in our country. In spite of these concerns, there can be no justification for the kind of violence we are witnessing."

Gwala thanked NGOs and individuals for their contributions during the crisis.

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Cape Argus (South Africa)

April 11, 2015 Saturday

E1 Edition

## Xenophobic comments stoke attacks, warns minister

BYLINE: NONDUMISO MBUYAZI

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 322 words

AFTER a fresh outbreak of xenophobic attacks in Umlazi in KwaZulu-Natal yesterday, at the end of a week in which four people died in the greater Durban area, Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba urged leaders to refrain from making statements that instigate or condone attacks on foreigners.

Addressing displaced foreigners in Chatsworth, Gigaba appealed to all leaders to be mindful of what they say.

"All our leaders in the country have a responsibility to use words to build and not destroy," he said, addressing hundreds of refugees at the temporary site.

The attacks are believed to have been prompted by a comment King Goodwill Zwelithini made during a speech last month. He told a moral regeneration gathering in Pongola that foreigners were helping break down culture, that some were responsible for crime, and that illegal foreigners should be deported.

Since then thousands of foreigners have been attacked and chased out of their communities, including in Chatsworth, Isipingo, Inanda and Umlazi, while foreign-owned shops have been looted.

In a bid to quell the violence, a number of organisations, including church leaders, civil organisations, and Lawyers for Human Rights, have asked the king to set the record straight, or retract his statement.

The king has said repeatedly that his comments were taken out of context as he wasn't referring to local African foreigners, but all foreigners.

In the latest incident, shops belonging to foreigners were looted in Umlazi on Thursday and early yesterday morning, police said.

The shops belonged to Somalis. The king has since issued a statement condemning the violence against foreigners.

Police said several criminal cases had been opened, including public violence, business robberies, murders, attempted murder, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and malicious damage to property.

A total 17 people linked to the cases had been arrested, with the help of local residents.

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The Independent on Saturday (South Africa)

April 11, 2015

E1 Edition

**King warns of genocide;****I Minister: leaders must speak wisely I King says violence is out of control****BYLINE:** Nondumiso Mbuyazi**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 1**LENGTH:** 460 words

AFTER a fresh outbreak of xenophobic attacks in Umlazi yesterday, following a week in which four people have died in the greater Durban area, Home Affairs Minister Melusi Gigaba has urged leaders to refrain from making statements that instigate or condone attacks on foreigners.

Addressing displaced foreign nationals at the Westcliff Sports Ground in Chatsworth, Gigaba appealed to all leaders to be mindful of what they say.

"All our leaders in the country have a responsibility to use words to build and not destroy," he said, addressing hundreds of refugees.

Four people have reportedly died in the attacks, which are believed to have been sparked by a comment King Goodwill Zwelithini made during a speech last month.

Before the violence in Durban erupted, the king told a moral regeneration meeting in Pongola that foreigners were helping break down culture, that some were responsible for crime, and that illegal foreigners should be deported.

Since then, thousands of foreigners have been attacked and chased out of their respective communities in Chatsworth, Isipingo, Inanda and uMlazi, while foreign-owned shops have been looted.

The king has since issued a statement condemning the violence, saying the province and country could experience something akin to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 if the attacks continued.

"At present, the violence is in danger of spiralling out of control, and is resulting in the victimisation of so-called 'foreigners' or people

who are perceived as 'other', many of whom are here legally and contribute to the economy of the province," it read.

Chaos erupted in the Durban city centre earlier this week when police used tear gas and a water cannon to stop an **anti-xenophobia** march. The police said they feared for the safety of foreigners.

Wednesday's march, which had been organised by shack-dwellers' movement Abahlali baseMjondolo, was stopped because their permit had been revoked by the city.

In a bid to quell the violence, various organisations - including church leaders, **civil society groups and Lawyers for Human Rights** - have asked the king to address a public gathering to set the record straight or retract his statement that has been linked to the attacks.

In the latest incident, shops belonging to foreigners were looted in uMlazi on Thursday evening and early yesterday morning.

The shops belonged to **Somalis**. **The police** said they **had been able to contain the situation**.

The king has repeatedly said his remarks were taken out of context as he wasn't referring to local African foreigners, but all foreign nationals.

The king further said he was offended by the name-calling by the media and academics.

"A mere suggestion that people who were looting were doing that under the king's instruction is disingenuous," he **said**.

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The Independent on Saturday (South **Africa**)

**April 11, 2015**

E1 **Edition**

**'Avoid words that lead to attacks on foreigners'**

**LENGTH:** 339 **words**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **2**

Without mentioning names, Gigaba said he was making a firm call to "all leaders" for them to stop making remarks that condone the loss of life, physical attacks or damage to **property**.

"South Africa is not against Africans. I'm appealing to all leaders to stop making statements that instigate or condone attacks against foreign nationals," he said.

He also emphasised that it was not the view of the government or all South Africans that all foreign nationals were criminals.

The minister described the attacks as sad, unfortunate and regrettable.

"They were caused by a few criminals, and we will deal with them."

The government's priority now, he said, would be to reintegrate the foreigners into their various communities before schools re-opened next week.

"Your children must be able to go back to school."

Even foreigners without legal permits still deserved to be treated with dignity.

"We want to assure you that you can go back to living a normal life without being attacked or living in fear," said Gigaba.

eThekweni deputy mayor Nomvuzo Shabalala said the city, together with various government departments and stakeholders, was organising a unified march to show solidarity with the foreigners.

Gigaba said he had also been informed that some **immigrants** wanted to go back to their native countries.

"But I don't want you to leave this country under a cloud created by a few criminals," he said.

During a walkabout at the Chatsworth sports ground, foreigners raised concerns about the shortage of tents, food and toilets.

Gigaba said the government unfortunately did not have the resources or experience of running a camp.

"But we have done all we can do to provide for those affected," he said.

Meanwhile, provincial police commissioner Mmamonye Ngobeni yesterday said she had deployed reinforcements to areas hit by xenophobic attacks, while talks were taking place to resolve the situation,

A total of 17 people had been arrested, police said, adding that local residents had given them information that had led to some of the **arrests**.

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Business Day (South Africa)

April 10, 2015 Friday

Business Day Edition

## Industry. A missed chance to empower township entrepreneurs

BYLINE: Asanda Ngoasheng

SECTION: OPINION & EDITORIAL

LENGTH: 1197 words

Industry

A missed chance to empower township entrepreneurs

I HAVE been intrigued by the government's plan to create 100 black-owned and managed companies in the next five years. The project would be funded to the tune of R1bn, which means that each company would receive about R100m to invest in sectors including plastics and chemicals, automotives, agro-processing, metal fabrication and downstream mineral beneficiation.

This is yet another missed opportunity to solve the problems of today while creating new solutions that will solve multiple future problems. SA does not need more money pumped into the individuals I saw in the pictures from the recent indaba at which the plan was announced. The government must avoid funding only the usual suspects.

SA needs more money to be put into developing more broad-based projects rather than the

creation of a black version of the & Stellenbosch mafia. The government should have studied the two models of economic development black people used during apartheid - stokvels and spaza shops.

While there is a need for some big black business entities, at least half of the money that will be going to the black industrialists could have been better spent in a Wiphold Investment-like model of broad-based economic empowerment.

Wiphold was established in 1994 with seed capital of R500,000 and listed on the stock exchange in 1999 as the first women's group to get on the JSE board. If the government implemented a Wiphold-type investment vehicle in partnership with savings groups or stokvels, many issues could be solved quickly.

Another portion of the money could have been spent on developing the informal retail sector in townships, otherwise known as the spaza shop.

Broad-based empowerment is important, and using established patterns of investment and business such as the stokvel and the spaza would yield bigger gains and help solve high youth unemployment, the biggest threat to stability.

The problem has manifested itself in a number of violent and fatal xenophobic attacks spreading throughout the country since the beginning of the year.

A common thread among the attacks is the competition for resources in resource-scarce communities. As our economy continues to provide fewer and fewer opportunities for

participation by members of most impoverished, black communities, living conditions in townships are worsening each year. The economic recession, poor education standards and increasing youth unemployment coupled with an increase in people on the welfare system have resulted in a depressing, disenfranchising, volatile environment.

I am not suggesting that SA does not have a xenophobia problem or that the attacks do not have xenophobic elements. However, I believe the definition and understanding of events have to be expanded. More factors need further interrogation, especially economic depression in townships. Even a delegation from Somalia that met local authorities in 2013, following yet another spate of attacks, concluded that the attacks were of a criminal nature more than sectorial hatred, as the affected Somalis they had spoken to had said they had felt welcome in the communities they lived in before the attacks.

The retail industry is a billion-dollar industry, but when we speak about retail we focus only on the major industry players such as Edcon, Pick n Pay, Shoprite, Spar, Woolworths and Massmart. Little mention is made of the substantial contribution to the economy by the & poor cousin& that is the township spaza, which has much potential to grow, develop, create jobs and increase the economic activity in economically depressed areas such as townships.

The spaza, or the corner shop in its refined format, stems from an entrepreneurial spirit that rose among black people during the clutches of apartheid and over subsequent years.

& Spaza&quot;hidden& in Zulu) stems from them operating from homes to avoid the apartheid government regulations and restrictions on trading in townships.

The spaza shop is an important part of the broader retail market and its effect on the economy cannot be ignored.

Many people have survived retrenchment and gone on to build successful livelihoods through the spaza. Many black people were educated using money made at their family spaza shops. One of the richest, Patrice Motsepe, has said he learnt his business skills at his father's spaza shop and so did many others who make up the first generation of black business.

A spaza will often be the shop owner's sole source of income and may even become a family business with all family members participating in running the business.

Spaza shops offer convenience to customers as they are open for longer hours, and although they often have expensive and unstable pricing, they do satisfy daily consumer needs in a way that formal retailers cannot due to shorter shopping hours.

Spaza shops also help to keep money inside the community.

Spazas play an important role in the economy already. They offer a steady income for those who have been retrenched, those who can never enter the formal economy as they do not have the skills or education required, and those who need access to cash to access opportunities in the formal economy. They are already bridging the gap in an economy that has little capacity to absorb unskilled workers.

Research shows that shop owners could do better and be more profitable if they were educated and given knowledge of proper business practice that would eliminate costly mistakes and needless losses. If they were taught business skills they would also be better equipped to negotiate wholesale discounts and find cheaper modes to transport their goods.

Empowering spaza owners would also lessen the contest between foreign and local owners.

Local entrepreneurs would be able to create jobs in the community. They could create businesses that could grow and become bigger retail shops and malls.

The government must intervene to help spaza shop owners to formalise their businesses. Research by the Africa Institute of SA shows migrant spaza shop entrepreneurs exude business intelligence and skills gained through informal training and mentorship provided by relatives and friends.

They employ several business strategies that give them the edge over local counterparts, such as strategically locating spaza shops, frequently buying a variety of stock in large quantities, adopting strict saving practices, offering lower prices, using aggressive marketing tactics and generating loyalty by giving credit.

Developing township spaza entrepreneurs means they will be better placed to exploit retail opportunities and create more jobs when large malls move into their communities. Local entrepreneurs will stop feeling like outsiders looking in.

If the black industrialist project was broad-based and focused on developing a new crop of entrepreneurs, half of SA's problems could be solved. As Motsepe shows, the child of a small spaza shop owner can grow into a big industrialist so we need to invest in that potential.

& 8226;Ngoasheng is a writer, entrepreneur and social commentator.

Many people have survived retrenchment and gone on to build successful livelihoods through the spaza

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 10, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

**King asked to address a public gathering**

**BYLINE:** Bongani Hans

**SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2****LENGTH: 422 words**

THREE civil organisations, including Lawyers for Human Rights, have called on King Goodwill Zwelithini to address a public gathering to set the record straight about his statement that has been linked to xenophobic attacks in Durban.

In a joint statement, Lawyers for Human Rights, Independent Projects Trust and Refugee Social Service said that by addressing the public gathering, the king would correct misinterpretation of his statement about foreigners.

The South African Human Rights Commission had also appealed to the king to clarify his statement.

"The alternative would be an explicit press statement, widely circulated, which corrects the confusion and puts a stop to the resulting violence," read the statement.

The king issued a statement yesterday condemning the violence against foreigners. It was read out by his spokesman, Prince Thulani Zulu, during a Solidarity Prayer Against Xenophobia and Extremist Attacks at the Durban City Hall.

The three civil organisations said the country should not be driven to the type of xenophobic violence seen in 2008.

"At present, the violence is in danger of spiralling out of control, and is resulting in the victimisation of so-called 'foreigners' or people who are perceived as 'other', many of whom are here legally and in fact contribute to the economy of the province," it read.

It said the Durban violence was already receiving international media attention, and it was likely to affect the province's reputation and tourism industry.

The king's statement described xenophobia as one of the evils facing South African society.

"All those who commit such crimes against anyone, whether foreign or local, should face the full might of the law," read the king's statement.

Premier Senzo Mchunu said the attack on foreigners had disappointed him.

"In our culture, we are encouraged to take care and treat foreigners well," he said.

Meanwhile, the eThekweni Municipality described perpetrators of violence against foreigners as criminals who "will face the full might of the law".

City manager Sibusiso Sithole apologised for the city's calling off an anti-xenophobia march this week out of fear that locals would attack marching foreigners.

The march turned ugly when confrontations took place between locals and foreigners, with a Somali man sustaining injuries when a crowd attacked him.

"We apologise for the inconvenience caused by the cancellation of the march, but our concerns were genuine," said Sithole.

He said it was not the policy of the city to refuse people permission to march.

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 10, 2015 Friday

E1 Edition

## My attackers told me, 'Today you die'

BYLINE: Sihle Manda

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 406 words

Graphic details of the heinous xenophobic attacks that swept Durban this week have emerged, with reports of deaths and a number of severe injuries.

It was unclear how many foreigners had been killed and injured in the gruesome attacks.

Police spokesman Thulani Zwane said he was only aware of two xenophobia-related deaths in Chatsworth, but two people were killed in KwaMakhutha and Umlazi yesterday.

The two deaths in Chatsworth were of a local person and a foreigner and happened on Sunday, he said.

There were rumours that another body had been found in the Lusaka informal settlement near Chatsworth yesterday, but Zwane could not confirm that.

He said a foreigner was killed in KwaMakhutha yesterday morning while an Umlazi resident was "mistakenly" shot and killed by a Somali shopkeeper who was being robbed.

"The woman was hit by a stray bullet. The Somali shopkeeper was being robbed. He took out his gun and shot at the gang, but a bullet struck the woman. She was rushed to hospital but succumbed to her injuries," he said.

The shop owner was arrested and would be charged with murder.

A Chatsworth policeman and a survivor with gaping wounds have given graphic details of horrific scenes since the violence broke out last Friday.



The Mercury spoke to a severely injured Zimbabwean who was assaulted last Friday night.

He recounted hearing a commotion while he was sleeping. Then a group of about 20 men surrounded his house.

"They surrounded the house, smashed the door, broke all the windows and tore the curtains. I tried to be calm, trying to think of how I wanted to salvage the situation.

"I could see my world crumble before me," he said. "I started to beg for mercy (saying): 'Guys, why are you killing me?'

"They told me: 'You are getting familiar, today you die.'"

He said the men who assaulted him were armed with various traditional weapons.

"I stopped begging for mercy and just stayed on my knees taking the shots meted out. I prayed and asked God to give me the strength to release my soul," he said.

He eventually pretended to be dead and the men left.

Early in the morning a man he knew walked into his house and offered help, but then the man attacked him with a knife. He said it was a miracle that he survived.

Hundreds of migrants were assisted by local NGOs, the eThekweni Municipality and various government departments at the Westcliff sports ground in Chatsworth.

They were fed and given mattresses, blankets and toiletries.

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# Sowetan

THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 10, 2015 Friday

**Displaced foreigners live amid uncertainty, fear**

**BYLINE:** Chris Makhaye

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 474 words

where do we MOVE now ?

ZIMBABWEAN Emanuel Venge Mundai is one of the hundreds of displaced foreigners who are enduring the hard life at one of the two temporary refugee camps outside Durban.

But the 42-year-old builder says he is lucky and thanks his ancestors after he escaped from the clutches of a xenophobic mob.

"If the police were not nearby I would have died," he said.

He said he was rescued by policemen who arrived and threw teargas at the crowd. He was later taken to hospital, where he was treated and stitched.

Thereafter he was taken to Chatsworth Unit 3 sports ground, where two huge marquees house displaced foreign nationals.

The temporary camps have everyone from pregnant women to sick adults and children and people who have been injured during the current wave of attacks.

Nick Holmes, a paramedic with the South African Police Services, said they have had their hands full trying to separate the sick and injured from the normal displaced foreign nationals.

"We are worried that if there are people with contagious infections it could affect other people at the camps," he said.

He said the rains of the past few days, and the related threat of flu, made things even more difficult.

Rodrigue Chinyere, a six-year-old boy, had swollen glands but paramedics suspected he really has mumps.

He was taken to the nearby RK Khan Hospital for further examination and treatment. So were diabetic women who required medication.

Mozambican Maria Antonio said they were woken up in Welbedacht West by a vengeful crowd in the middle of the night.

"These people are so cruel ... they didn't even leave my passport," Antonio said.

In Isiphingo camp, similar measures were taken to prevent infection from spreading. One-

year-old Byeve Mukeya, who was hit in the head by a brick as his mother fled with him, is under constant medical attention.

A police spokesman said he could confirm that two foreigners who have been killed. "But there are several other murder cases that have been opened and we have not verified whether those killed are local or foreign nationals.

"We have stepped up our efforts of protecting foreign nationals and their properties. We have made more than a dozen arrests in the hot spots and these people will be facing serious charges ranging from murder, assault, robbery and public violence," he said.

WHERE NOW: Foreigners who were chased away the previous night from the Bottlebrush community's informal settlement in Chatsworth, Durban, wait to be transported by the police to a camp site after spending the night at the police station for their own safety.

Photos: TEBOGO LETSIE

LIFE GOES ON: Foreign nationals at a camp site in Isiphingo which is being guarded by the police and private security

JUST WAITING: Foreign nationals wait to be taken to a camp site after spending a night at the police station

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Business Day (South Africa)

April 9, 2015 Thursday

Business Day Edition

**Durban halts anti-xenophobia march to 'prevent bloodshed'**

**BYLINE:** NCE MKHIZE

**SECTION:** HUMAN INTEREST

LENGTH: 468 words

Durban halts anti-xenophobia march to 'prevent bloodshed'

Contributing Writer

DURBAN - A march against xenophobia was abandoned yesterday after a crowd of taxi drivers and unemployed youth turned on the protesters, many of whom were foreign nationals.

Police had their hands full, and had to use rubber bullets and tear gas to prevent clashes.

Ethekeeni Municipality city manager Sbu Sithole told the protesters the city had decided to revoke their permission to march to prevent bloodshed.

& I understand that every person is entitled to march but we still have to protect people's lives.

& We are concerned about xenophobia attacks around Durban and this is destroying our image as a city. & The clashes came a week after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said immigrants should & pack their bags and leave SA.

He was supported by President Jacob Zuma's son Edward, who warned: & We need to be aware that as a country we are sitting on a ticking time bomb of them (foreigners) taking over the country. & Yesterday's march was organised by the Congolese Solidarity Campaign and other bodies representing foreign nationals and was supported by shack-dwellers movement Abahlali baseMjondolo.

Last week, foreign nationals came under attack in Chatsworth and other areas. Police and government officials transported displaced foreigners to a makeshift camp at the Chatsworth sport centre. Another camp was set up in Isipingo, south of Durban.

The leader of the Ethiopian community in Durban, Ephrem Tesfaye, said: & We are very saddened by what our own African brothers are doing.

& There are many other foreigners in the country - the Bangladeshis, the Pakistanis, the Europeans - but only African foreigners are being beaten up. & Bahebwa Kabambire, president of the Congolese Solidarity Campaign, blamed the attacks on the Zulu king.

Robin Phillips, of the Roman Catholic Church, urged communities in SA and the authorities not to allow the xenophobic attacks to reach the 2008 levels when 62 people were killed.

Police spokesman Thulani Zwane said officers from the Public Order Policing Unit had been deployed to defuse tension.

On Sunday, Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba, who visited victims housed in tents at the sports ground, said that the government would help foreigners return to their home countries if they so wished.

Mr Gigaba also said that his department was prepared to help immigrants who were determined to stay in SA.

KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Community Safety and Liaison, Thembinkosi Willies Mchunu, told foreign nationals gathered outside the Durban City Hall yesterday that authorities were cracking down on those involved in such attacks.

& We must now find measures to reintegrate the displaced foreign nationals back to the communities and champion peaceful coexistence, & he said.

King Goodwill Zwelithini

**LOAD-DATE:** April 12, **2015**

**LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH**

## THE HERALD

The Herald (South **Africa**)

**April 9, 2015 Thursday**

### **Mugabe thanks SA for looking after Zim migrants**

**BYLINE:** George **Matlala**

**SECTION:** **POLITICS**

**LENGTH:** 167 **words**

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe has conceded that the political problems in Zimbabwe have led to his people coming to South Africa in droves and putting pressure on **resources**.

Mugabe said in Pretoria that part of the agreement he signed yesterday with President Jacob Zuma was to put systems in place to deal with migration between the two countries.

"We must find ways of controlling these people," Mugabe said.

"Labour can move on a visa basis.

"People of South Africa, I want to say thank you for the hospitality.

"We owe that thankfulness for the tolerance of the government here as our people jump the border, disturbing the social system," he said.

Zuma said South Africa had signed an agreement that would see the country getting water from our neighbour, a customs agreement to ensure a smoother passage of Zimbabwean goods into South Africa, and to work with Zimbabwe on security.

**GOOD NEIGHBOURS:** President Robert Mugabe shares a light moment with President Jacob Zuma yesterday **Picture: SIZWE NDINGANE**

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Pretoria News (South Africa)

April 09, 2015 Thursday

E1 Edition

## Stop sullyng Zuma, Mugabe tells media;

### Zim leader on SA charm offensive

**BYLINE:** Peter Fabricius Foreign Editor

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2

**LENGTH:** 561 words

President Jacob Zuma was defended from an unexpected quarter yesterday, when visiting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe urged the South African media to "stop tarnishing him".

"You can tarnish me - I don't care," he said at a press conference after he had met Zuma for talks on his first state visit to South Africa since 1994.

"We are Africans. We don't tarnish our leaders," he said, adding that while political opponents could have disagreements, they should support national unity.

Though Mugabe sniped at his old enemies such as British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Western governments more generally, he also showed flashes of surprising humility.

He and his ministers had exchanged some very harsh words when Zuma was trying to mediate an agreement between Mugabe's Zanu-PF and the Movement for Democratic Change a few years ago.

But yesterday he was full of praise for Zuma, congratulating him on his government's efforts to resolve the recent political dispute in Lesotho and for its peacekeeping work in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

He also thanked Pretoria for its tolerance of illegal Zimbabwe immigrants, "as our people have really offended... by jumping the border and disturbing your social systems".

This problem had been discussed in talks yesterday "and we said we must find ways of controlling the movement of people which have not been sanctioned", Mugabe said.

And he referred to South Africa as Zimbabwe's "elder brother" economically, appealing to it to help Zimbabwe add value to its extensive natural resources.

South Africa rolled out the red carpet for Mugabe, receiving him with full honours on only his second state visit, and raising diplomatic relations to the highest level.

The two governments signed an agreement to establish a bi-national commission to be co-chaired by the two heads of state.

Few other such commissions with other countries are chaired at that level.

Mugabe had not paid a state visit to South Africa since August 1994 when Nelson Mandela had just been inaugurated as the first president since the birth of democracy.

In the meantime, Mugabe and Zimbabwe have largely been on the regional problem list as first Thabo Mbeki, and then Zuma, tried to broker agreements to resolve a sometimes violent political crisis between Mugabe's Zanu-PF and the opposition MDC.

But since Mugabe and Zanu-PF decisively won presidential and legislative elections in 2013, ending a troubled "unity" government with the MDC, South Africa - along with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union - has accepted Zimbabwe back as a member in good standing.

Mugabe has since then been appointed as chairman of both SADC and the AU.

The two governments also signed agreements yesterday for regular diplomatic consultations, including on greater co-operation on African security issues and on managing water resources, customs, trade and industry. Zuma said at a press conference the agreement on

customs was aimed at eventually establishing a One Stop Border Post, presumably at Beit Bridge.

In his long and rambling speech at the press conference, Mugabe also ironically thanked South African journalists for giving him so much publicity "as a real dictator".

But he insisted that he wasn't such a dictator after all, citing the way he had let his old enemy Ian Smith keep not only his own farm, but also his father's **farm**.

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South **Africa**)

**April 9, 2015 Thursday**

**Locals attack **marchers****

**SECTION:** **CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE**

**BYLINE:** Chris **Makhaye**



**LENGTH: 503 words**

ATTACKS on foreign nationals continued yesterday in several parts of Durban, including the CBD, resulting in several of them being injured and their properties ransacked and goods stolen.

Early yesterday, dozens of foreigners fled for their lives when they came under attack in Unit 11 informal settlement in Chatsworth, southwest of Durban. They took refuge at the local police station.

Later, more than 150 foreigners and their children were taken to the local football ground, where a temporary camp and marquees were erected to accommodate them.

This is the second displaced persons' camp. The first is in Isipingo, south of Durban, where hundreds had been placed since the xenophobic attacks spiked early last week.

Malawian Saidi Adamu, who had a gaping hole in the back of his head, said he was woken up by a crowd chanting anti-foreign slogans.

"When I came out of my room I saw that they were heading straight to our yard. I jumped the fence but one of the attackers hit me with a stick. I continued to run and on the way I saw other foreigners who were running like me. We all ran here to the hall," he said.

Adamu said the attackers said they were sent by the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to chase away foreigners back to their homelands.

In the city centre, a pre-organised anti-xenophobic march by about 400 foreigners was cancelled at the last hour after a rival group of locals gathered across the road.

eThekweni Metro Police spokesman Eugene Msomi said: "We decided to postpone the

march after receiving information that they will be attacked.

" We decided to prevent this from happening and therefore we cancelled the march and revoked the permission."

When the foreign nationals refused to disperse, police used teargas and water cannons against them. Later, dozens of foreign nationals defied the authorities and marched through the city, making their way to the City Hall where an anti-xenophobic prayer had been arranged by local church groups.

Along the way the marchers were met by a group of locals who pelted them with stones. At least one of the marchers was injured and was later sent to hospital.

KZN community safety MEC Willies Mchunu addressed the crowd outside the Durban City Hall.

He said government officials were speaking with communities to ensure that foreign nationals can return to their homes safely and resume their lives.

He said they are also looking at the issue of those foreign nationals who are in the country illegally and those involved in criminal activities.

Pierre Kazongo, a Congolese, said: "In the townships we are being attacked and now we cannot even march. It is very sad indeed what our brothers are doing to us."

Ephraim Tesfayi, an Ethiopian community leader, said his compatriots and their businesses have borne the brunt of attacks.

Police spokesman Major Thulani Zwane said police had been deployed to protect foreign nationals and their properties.

**ANTI-XENOPHOBIA PROTEST:** Foreign nationals gather at the Durban City Hall Photo: TEBOGO LETSIE



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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 9, 2015 Thursday

**Zim migrants hurt SA economy - Mugabe**

**BYLINE:** George Matlala

**SECTION:** POLITICS

**LENGTH:** 488 words

'people of sa, i want to thank you'

Deputy Political Editor

**PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe** has conceded that the political problems in Zimbabwe have led to his people coming to South Africa in droves thus putting pressure on the country's economy and resources.

**Mugabe** yesterday told the media in Pretoria that part of the agreement he signed with his counterpart, **President Jacob Zuma**, was to put systems in place to deal with migration between the two countries.

"There are problems that must be resolved. Many move without passports to South Africa, jumping our border thinking there is lots of work in Johannesburg.

"We must discuss that. We must find ways of controlling people," Mugabe said.

"Labour can move on a visa basis. We can have trained workers and businesspeople moving, yes. People of SA I want to say thank you for the hospitality. We owe you not just a gesture of thankfulness, which we must express.

"We owe that thankfulness for the tolerance on the part of the government here as our people ... jumping the border, disturbing the social system."

Mugabe was speaking at a press conference at the Union Buildings during the second day of his

state visit. The Zimbabwean leader last visited South Africa 21 years ago.

Mugabe's comments came as **locals** embarked on sporadic attacks on **businesses and shops owned by foreigners**.

**Zimbabweans, who fled in their millions into South Africa** fearing Mugabe's repressive regime, were also victims of the **xenophobic attacks**.

Zuma said South Africa had signed an agreement that will see the country getting water from Zimbabwe and a customs agreement that will ensure a smoother passage of Zimbabwean goods and services at points of entry into South Africa.

South Africa will also work with Zimbabwe on security in the wake of the brutal massacre of students at a Kenyan university recently. The two leaders condemned the incident.

"We are united in our determination to work for peace and stability in every corner of Africa," Zuma said.

He added that Mugabe's visit would also enhance relations between the two countries.

The relations between the two took a knock when Mugabe started taking away white-owned land in Zimbabwe, leading to the economic crisis.

Former president Thabo Mbeki was blamed for the way he handled the Zimbabwean crisis

while Zuma is credited with a tougher hand on Mugabe.

But Mugabe, current Southern African Development Community chairman, will not stop his indigenisation programme in which foreign companies that exploit Zimbabwe's natural resources have to give up 51% of ownership to the state.

Mugabe and Zuma also signed other agreements that will revive and enhance the relationship between the two neighbours and improve business ties.

SOLEMN: President Robert Mugabe and President Jacob Zuma with their wives Grace and Thobeka behind them during the welcoming ceremony. Mugabe is on a state visit to South Africa Photo: Elmond Jiyane, **GCIS**

**LOAD-DATE:** April 10, **2015**

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The Star (South **Africa**)

**April 09, 2015 Thursday**

## S1 Edition

**Media glimpses another side to Mugabe;****Zim president apologises for compatriots jumping the border and disturbing SA's social system****BYLINE:** Peter Fabricius**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2**LENGTH:** 572 words

President Jacob Zuma was defended from an unexpected quarter yesterday, when visiting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe urged the South African media to "stop tarnishing him".

"You can tarnish me - I don't care" he said at a media conference after he had met Zuma for official talks on his first state visit to South Africa since 1994.

"We are Africans. We don't tarnish our leaders," he said, adding that while political opponents could have disagreements, they should support national unity.

Though Mugabe sniped at his old enemies such as former British prime minister Tony Blair and Western governments more generally, he also showed flashes of surprising humility.

He and his ministers had exchanged some very harsh words when Zuma was trying to mediate an agreement between Mugabe's Zanu-PF and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) a few years ago. But yesterday he was full of

praise for Zuma, congratulating him for his government's efforts to resolve the recent political dispute in Lesotho and for its peacekeeping work in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

He also thanked Pretoria for its tolerance of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants, "as our people have really offended... by jumping the border and disturbing your social systems."

He said this problem had been discussed in the talks yesterday, "and we said we must find ways of controlling the movement of people which have not been sanctioned".

And he referred to South Africa as Zimbabwe's "elder brother" economically, appealing to it to help Zimbabwe add value to its extensive natural resources.

South Africa rolled out the red carpet for Mugabe, receiving him with full honours on only his second state visit, and raising diplomatic relations to the highest level.

The two governments signed an agreement to establish a bi-national commission which would be co-chaired by the two heads of state.

Few other such commissions with other countries are chaired at that level.

Mugabe had not paid a state visit to South Africa since August 1994, when Nelson Mandela had just been inaugurated as the first president of the new democracy.

Mugabe and Zimbabwe have largely been on the regional problem list as first former president Thabo Mbeki and then Zuma tried to broker agreements to resolve a sometimes violent political crisis between Mugabe's Zanu-PF and the MDC.

But since Mugabe and Zanu-PF decisively won presidential and legislative elections in 2013,

ending a troubled "unity" government with the MDC, South Africa along with the Southern African Development Community and the AU, have accepted Zimbabwe back as a member in good standing.

Mugabe has since then been appointed as chairman of both Sadc and the AU.

The two governments also signed agreements yesterday for regular diplomatic consultations, including on greater co-operation on African security issues and on managing water resources, customs, trade and industry.

Zuma said the agreement on customs was aimed at eventually establishing a "one-stop border post", presumably at Beit Bridge.

In his long and rambling speech at the media conference, Mugabe also ironically thanked South African journalists for giving him so much publicity "as a real dictator".

But he insisted that he wasn't such a dictator after all, citing the way he had let his old enemy, the late Ian Smith, who was the prime minister of the former Rhodesia, keep not only his own farm, but also his father's farm.

See Page 6 and Business **Report**

**LOAD-DATE:** April 10, **2015**

**LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH**

**PUBLICATION-TYPE:** **Newspaper**

**JOURNAL-CODE:** **SW**

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**April 08, 2015 Wednesday**

**E2 Edition**

## **Mayor pins attacks on Indian business**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **4**

**LENGTH:** 634 **words**

**ETHEKWINI** mayor James Nxumalo placed last **week's xenophobic attacks** in Isipingo on the shoulders of an Indian-owned business that allegedly employed foreign nationals [after a labour dispute resulted in employees going on strike].

But the owner of Jeena's Warehouse, in Isipingo Rail, said this was a lie.

After a spate of **violent attacks** against foreign nationals that started on Monday last week,

Nxumalo told a media briefing at the Isipingo police station two days later that the problem started at a shop owned by "Mr Jeena".

The mayor said the employees were on strike and Jeena's decided to employ other workers - foreign nationals.

This allegedly led to the regular employees retaliating and the violence escalated and spilled over into the town.

Nxumalo said stones were hurled at foreign nationals, who defended themselves by doing the same.

He said they were engaging with various roleplayers, including Jeena's, to prevent the situation from continuing.

The owner of Jeena's Warehouse, Goolam Khan, said the mayor had visited the store after the media briefing.

"They were under the impression the attacks started at our store, but this is not true. We do not have a single foreigner working for us and I told the authorities to check the staff identity documents to prove this."

Khan said the attacks started in the area and filtered through the town.

During the briefing, the mayor said: "We must accept we are sitting with a problem. We need open dialogue to discuss this issue."

"These incidents can start at any time and we must emphasise the importance of co-existence. We are all people, human beings and Africans. We must learn to address the challenges."

Responding to a question that foreign nationals have blamed comments made by King Goodwill Zwelithini that they must pack up their belongings and leave, Nxumalo said the king's statement had been clarified.

"As a government, we do not believe this escalated the problem."

He said that as part of the intervention, foreign nationals would be provided with accommodation and 24-hour security and that the process of integration was vital.

"We cannot allow this situation to continue. We are dealing with human beings. We want the situation normalised."

He said Home Affairs officials were working on verifying the details of the displaced, so their embassies were informed.

But the laws of the country would not be broken if the refugees were found to be in the country illegally, he said.

By last Wednesday no one had been arrested.

Cases were opened but the complainants did not know the perpetrators by name, only by sight.

The chairman of the Isipingo Ratepayers' Association, Dharmanand Nowbuth, said: "This is a matter of urgent attention for national government to address immediately and decisively, to end once and for all such xenophobic attacks."

"Government needs to reassure communities, both local and international, of the safety, security and freedom of movement and trade for all. Such xenophobic attacks have taken place elsewhere in the country. Now it is Isipingo. Where is it going to be next?"

"We never want to see that happen again."

He continued: "Greater visible policing needs to be done, especially in the CBD of Isipingo."

Citing similar comments to the mayor, Denzil Reddy, the chairman of the community policing forum in the area, said the incident was sparked at Jeena's Warehouse after a labour dispute.

He said the CPF was working with the police to stabilise the situation.

Meanwhile, Raj Govender, a senior manager in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture, said a task team comprising representatives of his department, the KZN Department of Social Development, the eThekweni Municipality and several NGOs, would see to the needs of about 170 foreign nationals who had been affected by the violence.

See page 16

**LOAD-DATE:** April 9, 2015

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Post (South Africa)

April 08, 2015 Wednesday

E1 Edition

**Growing xenophobic undercurrent**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 16

**LENGTH:** 958 words

CONSIDER this rather familiar scene.

You're asked: "So, where are you from?"

You reply: "I'm South African."

"No, I mean from where?"

"From Phoenix, Durban"

"No, no, where are you from originally?"

The subtext is that an Indian South African or a South African of Congolese origin - even if born and brought up in this country - cannot be truly South African. Such covertly racist remarks, dressed up as friendly banter or jokes, have become part of frequent encounters by certain South Africans (mainly of North, Central, East or West African or South Asian, that is, Indian, Pakistani or Bang-ladeshi origin) and in a non-racial society to boot.

African and South Asian nationals have increasingly been at the receiving end of growing xenophobic undertones in the political rhetoric. This has, in recent months, become more frequent, more insidious and featured on platforms beyond the township convenience store or spaza shop and squatter settlements bordering former Indian South African group areas.

Mercifully, President Jacob Zuma deemed it appropriate to say something after the relative tranquillity South Africans have been enjoying since 1994. He was disturbed by the sporadic anger over the firefights that led to the torching and looting of shops owned by foreign nationals, the property grab of bona fide homeowners and the threats of such disposessions.

In February, Zuma assured diplomats in the country that his government would put in place necessary measures to curb xenophobic attacks on migrants. Addressing eleven newly-accredited diplomats in Pretoria, Zuma condemned xenophobic violence.

He said, "We will ensure that all our people, including foreign nationals, always feel enveloped by an abiding sense of security wherever they are in the country."

Ironically, the very same assurance that was used to allay fears and justify appeasement is tragically in danger of being overwhelmed by the din created by seemingly well-connected xenophobes and their implicit political agenda. They see foreign nationals as mirror images of interwar Europe.

Never mind Zuma's son, Edward, reportedly coming out last week in full support of King Goodwill Zwelithini's controversial call to deport foreigners from South Africa. He's candidly unapologetic about his utterances.

Last week, I met an Indian writer who is on a visit to the country. During the course of an enjoyable conversation, he expressed his deep unease at the casual way in which some South Africans bandied expressions such as "fascism", "Nazism" and "authoritarianism".

He is too nuanced to fall for such claptrap. But some cynics appear to have caught the bug.

Hitler, my visitor explained, was one of the most extraordinary aberrations in human history. It was extremely unlikely - apart from the 800 000 men, women and children who perished in the

Rwandan genocide of 1994 - that such a phenomenon would recur, and certainly not in the 21st century.

After a walking tour of Durban's old "casbah", he tweeted his appreciation of "African, European, Indian, Coloured, Hindu/ Muslim/ Christian/ Jewish influences, across the years, buried and alive".

The only jarring note he detected were civil disobedience protests by residents of the Burnwood Road and Kenville shanty town settlements and that there was graffiti on walls and trees, obscuring the ugly stories of a shameful past.

During my visitor's stay, 46-year-old Lee Arumugam was forced to flee with his family from their Burnwood Road home in Durban after it was petrol-bombed, allegedly by his neighbours living in a shack settlement. The Arumugams were also targets of stones and an assortment of missiles. Two cars were damaged with impunity.

They have now abandoned their home, which they bought eight years ago and painstakingly modernised, for refuge with family in nearby Asherville, still nursing wounds of financial and emotional devastation.

The homeless have the right to voice their grievances. But to seek redress through violence, disdainful arrogance and discriminatory rhetoric on innocent people is indefensible.

Last week residents of Kenville encountered a fresh wave of hate violence and hostility. It's as if the forces of law have gone on leave or taken leave of their senses.

There is a curious sidelight to the furore over the hostilities against the Isipingo and Kenville residents: the attacks on the Arumugams and the Durban writer, Zainub Priya Dala, who defied the familiar stereotyping of Salman



Rushdie. It is the overall reluctance of politicians to jump into the controversy.

Our lily-livered political elite are cowed. Nobody dares say a word.

A theme readily echoed across the pond against a disparate rag-tag and bobtail coterie breaking new ground with their own show of double standards. They are linking facets of xenophobia with profiling based on categories of geographical origin, communalism, sectarianism, religion and language.

These supremacist assumptions are igniting passions and triggering a return of identity politics.

South Africans who thrive on the strength of a relatively open society are right to question such inflammatory mindsets and in-your-face assertions of separateness.

Gone are the days when the elite and the working class of all colour and creed swore by the "congress" and organised loudspeaker vans that toured the streets blaring messages of

mass meetings and protest rallies in frenzied campaigns against apartheid's injustices. Those dubbed troublemakers were rounded up and sent to prison to cool their heels.

At a time when the post-apartheid mood is for the bar of tolerance and secularism to be raised, Indian South Africans and nationals from Africa and South Asia are discovering a new trend of victimhood based on exaggerated **prickliness**.

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Pretoria News (South **Africa**)

**April 08, 2015 Wednesday**

**E1 Edition**

## Lawyers in bid to challenge law on arrests of **foreigners**

**BYLINE:** ZELDA VENTER High Court **Reporter**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **4**

**LENGTH:** 528 **words**

**LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR)** is challenging the constitutionality of sections of the Immigration Act which do not make provision for detainees to be brought before court in person to challenge the lawfulness of their **detention**.

**LHR's head of detention monitoring, Lesirela Letsebe**, said in an affidavit before the High Court in Pretoria that hundreds of foreigners were unlawfully held at Lindela repatriation



facility and at other facilities including police stations.

These people usually do not know their rights, nor do the immigration officers inform them.

As a result many often unlawfully stay at Lindela and other places for months on end before they are released or deported.

As the law stands, an illegal foreigner can be arrested and detained for the purpose of deportation on the strength of a warrant by an immigration officer. If a detainee wished to challenge the detention, he or she may request that the officer produce a warrant obtained from court.

If the officer failed to produce this within 48 hours, the detainee is entitled to immediate release.

Davit Cote, a lawyer at LHR, said the warrant was obtained in chambers and the detainee, who would not be present, was deprived of the right to make submissions on why he or she should not be detained.

If the detention lasts for more than 30 days, the officer must obtain a warrant from a magistrate and give notice to the detainee of this intention. The detainee is then invited to make written submissions which are attached to the application for a warrant.

This warrant is again issued in chambers.

Cote said detainees were not given the opportunity to make representations and did not appear in person before the magistrate to challenge their detention.

The Constitution, however, gives the right to any arrested and detained person to, in person, contest the lawfulness of their detention. "Our application will ensure that immigration detainees are also covered by these provisions. We have evidence in a series of applications showing widespread non compliance with the protections under the Immigration Act for these

detainees. Many are detained for more than 120 days, which is not permitted by the act," Cote said.

LHR is asking the court to order that sections of the Immigration Act be amended so that immigration officials cannot approach a magistrate alone to obtain permission to detain foreigners for longer than the prescribed 30 days.

Although detainees can make written submissions or instruct their lawyers, this is usually impossible, as most do not have money or are unable to speak English.

Facilities at Lindela are dire and it is difficult for lawyers to access their clients.

Letsebe said if detainees were required by law to appear before a magistrate during warrant proceedings, they would be able to challenge their detention in person.

LHR said according to its experience, most of those arrested were detained in the overcrowded Lindela without knowing why, for how long or what they could do about their situation.

The application was yesterday postponed indefinitely. Home Affairs noted its intention to oppose the application, but had to date not filed any papers in this regard.

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# Sowetan

THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South **Africa**)**April 8, 2015 Wednesday**

## get-out notice spreads **fear**

**BYLINE:** Chris **Makhaye****SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & **JUSTICE****LENGTH:** 435 **words**

### **Fearful** foreigners **flee** homes

The crowds said they will wipe us off from that area

**FOREIGN** nationals in **Durban** continued to **flee** their homes yesterday as a rumour spread that they would be wiped out **today**.

Yesterday, **more fearful** foreigners **displaced** from their homes poured into the Isiphingo Beach camp that was set up after **violent attacks** last week.

Sowetan reported last week that **the attacks** were sparked by a labour dispute at a factory

where dozens of locals were fired and replaced with foreign nationals.

Some of the attackers who looted foreign-owned shops claimed they were following orders from Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who last month said in a public speech that foreigners should leave the country. The SA Human Rights Commission is now probing Zwelithini's comments.

Yesterday, many of the foreign nationals related tales of how they were forced to flee their homes, often only with the clothes on their backs, as **vengeful xenophobic mobs bayed for their blood**.

Burundian Moses Nyabenda said he was lucky to be alive after being forced to flee his home in a Mayville informal settlement west of Durban after he was **attacked** before dawn yesterday morning.

"The crowds said they will wipe us off from that area by Wednesday," he said.

The situation at the beach camp is dire. There are more than 320 displaced foreigners and their children living in three marquees erected on a football pitch.

Salima Mukeya, a salon owner whose one-year-old child Byeve was injured in the head by a brick as she tried to flee, said she now feared the child would catch pneumonia as the ground in the camp is wet and the weather freezing cold.

Over the last few days there has been intermittent heavy rain, leaving the ground flooded.

Kana Willy Chikuru, a spokesman for the displaced foreigners, was himself attacked at his internet café in Isipingo town centre and lost all his computers, printers and other equipment.

He said even his home was ransacked and they expect more foreigners to come to the camp because the attacks are still taking place in and around Durban.

"More people are under threat. Government officials said we will not stay here for long because they will speak to communities so that we can go back to our homes. There is hardship

here at the camps. It is hard for grown-up men; imagine what it is like for the young children," said Chikuru.

A police spokesman, Major Thulani Zwane, said they would contact all police stations about the rumour circulating about attacks on foreigners. The police had officers at all the hot spots and were ready to deal with attacks on foreigners.

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The Star (South Africa)

April 08, 2015 Wednesday

E1 Edition

**Dried beans and new pictures in your head;**

**It's the return to Joburg after Easter that's hard|for Zimbabweans**

**SECTION:** Pg. 10

**LENGTH:** 620 words

The Easter queues at Park Station and at the Alex taxi rank start forming before breakfast on Holy Thursday. First come, first served. It's a

policy anyone heading for home in Zimbabwe understands and so the people come prepared, with food to eat in the line and their China bags, packed solid, at their feet.

It was Lent, and most of the travellers getting ready to hoist themselves into taxis and buses were going home to celebrate with the people who matter. Joburg, their adopted city, is merely that. Years on, it can still never have the same meaning as even the most deprived, dry village. That's where families wait to hold them close and wait to prise open those bags of treasures from another **country**.

These believers wear their cruce Domini like a string of jewels. When they take their seats on the transport, heading for Bulawayo, Plumtree and Harare, they become the children of the light, performing actions good, just and true.

They might be contemplating the Last Supper as they ease away from Joburg's city limits, looking back at its lights; their often-modest accommodation padlocked shut till Monday or Tuesday.

But these queues out of Jozi are not for the light of purse. Travellers have to make very careful decisions about what they're taking along. Just one bag of old clothes costs from R50 up to stash in a trailer, while a China bag full of groceries costs more than a ticket, at about R450 and even R500, to store.

A ticket is about R350 for anyone who can't occupy a lap.

So, only luxuries go home and that includes potatoes, which are far too expensive in Zimbabwe.

The same is true of flour, rice and tinned food. Toiletries too, although you wouldn't want to pack skin-lightening creams, which are forbidden on the other side of the border.

At Easter, there are at least five roadblocks between Bulawayo and Plumtree, and a stop-and-search at each one is a distinct possibility.

Police officers want to see passports and declaration forms from the border post. They peer into the bags and toxic creams are hauled out like radioactive waste to be destroyed, with the bearer burdened by a fine.

Yet none of this matters if you have the skills to hide Joburg's charms. Individual potatoes are wrapped and slipped between other goods. The creams are stored in harmless containers.

But the collective intake of breath in those queues is a distraction from the anxiety. Everyone's terrified of accidents. Everyone wants to come back to Joburg, with their pockets full of dried beans from home and new pictures in their heads.

Some say it's better to leave Alex or Park Station at 8pm on the Thursday, because you'll arrive in Bulawayo at 8am the next morning. Somehow, the trip spills out like a slashed sack if you leave too early. But then again, you never know.

The malaitsha, or cargo-carriers, keep the taxis going all day, and almost all night, ahead of Easter. If you miss this one, you can catch another about an hour later.

Some go to Beit Bridge in Limpopo, some to Botswana. Both journeys feel endless, with especially Harare a torment on the thighs.

Joburg's Zimbabwean **migrants** know what to expect once they reach the border. Going in, it's at least two hours, part of it standing in a quiet line while officials pick through their parcels.

At Easter, many would also have gone to weep their final farewells for the dead. This past one, an expat church based in Alexandra sent more than 500 people in buses and taxis to honour a beloved neighbour and mother who'd passed on.

Her body, too, was carried home on public transport.

But it's the coming back that's tough. People say when they see the skyscrapers of Jozi, they feel that shiver in their bones: "Oh God, here I am again. I have no **choice**."

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## The Times

The Times (South Africa)

April 8, 2015 Wednesday

**Foreigners** want plan for their **safety**

**BYLINE: Nathi Olifant**

**SECTION: SOCIAL ISSUES**

**LENGTH: 267 words**

**FOREIGNERS** chased from their Durban homes during apparent xenophobic attacks spent another day in limbo yesterday, vowing not to return until their safety was **guaranteed**.

This is despite reassurances from **Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba** - who visited Isipingo, south of Durban, on Sunday - that the government would help them reintegrate.

Gigaba apologised to the community of about 300 mostly Congeese, Tanzanians, Burundians, Mozambicans and Malawians. But the sceptical foreigners want a detailed plan for their safety.

"All we are hearing is that there's a meeting [today] that seeks to return us to our homes and businesses," said Daniel Dunia, speaking for the **foreigners**. "As much as we want to go back and get on with our lives, it is difficult to go back when they are not telling us about the safety plans," he said.

The community of about 300 people **took refuge at a police** station on Monday last week following the outbreak of violence in Isipingo and Malukazi.

Their attackers, who had arrived in a minibus taxi, had allegedly chanted: "Awahambe amakwerekwere ... inkosi ithe awabuyele emuva (The foreigners must go back to their countries ... the king said so)."

"Amakwerekwere" is a derogatory word for people from other African countries.

Two weeks ago Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini demanded that **foreigners** pack their bags. He has denied making the inflammatory comments, despite proof that he did.

UNHAPPY CAMPERS: Children at the Isipingo Beach Sports Grounds, which has been turned into a camp for Africans who **fled** **xenophobic**

**violence** in Durban last week Picture: TEBOGO LETSIE

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**The Mercury (South Africa)**

**April 07, 2015 Tuesday**

**E1 Edition**

## **Church heads are told about violence **warning****

**BYLINE:** Bongani **Hans**

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. **1**

**LENGTH:** 499 **words**

"Wednesday Zulu pp are coming to town starting from market they mission is to kill every **foreigner** on da road pls pass ths 2 all ur contacts in case they cam pp should b on alert!" read a WhatsApp alert warning of an alleged threat against **foreigners** in **Durban**.

**Foreigners** told **religious leaders** of the Diakonia Council of Churches yesterday that since last week they had been receiving warnings through social networks telling them to be vigilant of possible attacks to take place in Durban tomorrow.

"This warning has been circulating on the cellphones of foreigners. Personally I don't know who is the source of the warning," said Daniel Dunia, who is the spokesman for refugees at the camp that has been established in Isipingo Beach, south of Durban.

A Zimbabwean living in the CBD said his neighbours, who were South Africans, had been telling him that on Wednesday "we are going to attack all foreigners because the king said you must be out of the country".

"One even told me: 'That flat is going to be mine,'" he said.

Anglican Church Bishop Rubin Phillip and Methodist Church Bishop Mike Vorster led the fact-finding mission to the camp that has become a safe haven for victims of xenophobic attacks in Isipingo, Malukazi and Umlazi.

Vorster said even though the alert could be just a rumour it should not be dismissed outright.

There were differing reports as to what sparked the violence that started on March 30.

City officials told the clergymen that it started after a labour protest by South Africans who then turned their anger on foreigners.

But locals blamed King Goodwill Zwelithini, saying the attackers said the king had given an order that foreigners should be deported.

Municipal official Bheki Mngwengwe, who is assigned to look after the Isipingo camp, said the threat would be reported to the National Intelligence Agency for investigation.

"They (the agency) were here just now. As soon as they come back we will inform them about this."

Before the violence in Durban erupted, the king told a moral regeneration gathering in Pongola last month that foreigners were helping break

down culture, that some were responsible for crime and that illegal foreigners should leave the country.

Vorster said the Diakonia Council of Churches was seeking a meeting with the king to understand what his statement meant.

"I would like to ask him to clarify what he said.

"We would like to meet the king, but certainly there is a protocol that would need to be followed.

"We would like to explore that and see if we cannot have an audience with the king to have a better understanding in terms of what he did say," he said.

Phillip said leaders should speak responsibly about foreigners.

"They (leaders) have to watch their words because if the leader says anything against or about the foreign nations that is negative, then the people might use that to continue to attack foreign nationals."

He said whether the leader was a politician, church leader or king, they should choose their words carefully.

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The Mercury (South Africa)

April 07, 2015 Tuesday

E1 Edition

BYLINE: Bongani Hans

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 644 words

Young Congolese mother Asako Makelele and her 1-year-old son Junior have spent the past two rainy nights on their feet because they could not lie down to sleep as the thin mattresses placed on the ground were covered with water.

Makelele, 22, is among hundreds of foreign nationals, mostly from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), who had to seek refuge at the Isipingo sports ground. They left their homes in Isipingo, Umlazi and Malukazi at the end of the month after they were attacked by locals. The municipality has supplied them with three large tents and the mattresses to sleep on.

"These tents are very hot during the day and very cold at night. We cannot even sleep because the ground is full of water," she said.

When The Mercury visited the camp, secured by SAPS officers and security guards, some refugees were playing soccer, and children were running around. Some women were inside tents minding their toddlers. A happy looking Junior was running behind his mother who kept reprimanding him about being naughty.

Makelele, who co-owned a small beauty salon with her 31-year-old sister Salimi, said she and her

sister now had no way to generate income after their business was attacked and looted. Another two sisters who owned a salon also lost everything in the attack and are living in the camp.

She said she and her sisters left Uvira village at the north end of Lake Tanganyika in the DRC after witnessing her mother, Teresa, and father, Mkayu, being hacked to death by militants in 1996.

She said they had run away and sought refuge elsewhere in that country for 14 years.

"But the war was everywhere. People were being killed and young girls raped. I am still scared of going back home," said Makelele.

She said she crossed the border with other Congolese and her sisters and was registered as a war refugee in South Africa. In 2010 she arrived in Durban where and she and her sister started a small business. But she had a bigger dream of going back to school as she wanted to study commerce.

"My life was good when I arrived in Durban.

"I made lots of local friends, who were mostly my customers at the salon," she said.

However, things turned around on March 30 when a large group of South Africans attacked her business, stealing everything.

"It was at midday when one of my customers warned me to run away because feranges (a term to describe thugs and people who abuse



whoonga) from Malukazi were on their way to attack foreigners.

"I dismissed the warning as a joke. But about 12.30 people were shouting: "Awahambe amakwerekwere!" (Foreigners must leave). I ran away from the salon to take refuge in a house full of scared Congolese. Attackers came and threatened to burn down the house and we all ran to the police station."

At the camp she was taken care of by her salon customers.

"My Zulu friend who lives nearby always welcomes me for meals. But I come back to sleep in the tent.

"I always receive WhatsApp messages from Zulu friends who say they are sorry about what is happening.

"I would like to go back to my normal life, but it would be difficult to do business again."

Joe Nene, an adviser to eThekweni Mayor James Nxumalo, said the city and Community Safety and Liaison MEC Willies Mchunu would lead a campaign to take foreigners back into the community.

"From this week Mchunu will lead the campaign to talk to people because they need to understand the plight of the foreigners," he said.

Municipality official Bheki Mngwengwe said many foreigners were coming to seek accommodation.

"But we cannot just accept them until we assess if their lives are under threat. Those who still have homes must go back and only come for food."

Young Congolese mother Asako Makelele and her 1-year-old son Junior have spent the past two rainy nights on their feet because they could not lie down to sleep on thin mattresses placed on ground covered with water.

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Pretoria News (South Africa)

April 07, 2015 Tuesday

E1 Edition

## Foreigners warned of attacks after king's call

**BYLINE:** Bongani Hans

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 2

**LENGTH:** 474 words

"Wednesday Zulu pp are coming to town... their mission is to kill every foreigner on da road. Pass ths 2 all ur contacts in case they come pp should b on allert!" read a Whats-App alert warning of an apparent threat against foreigners in Durban.

Foreign nationals told Diakonia Council of Churches religious leaders yesterday that since last week, they had been receiving warnings via social networks telling them to be vigilant of possible attacks in Durban tomorrow.

"This warning has been circulating among cellphones of foreigners. I don't know who is the source of the warning," said Daniel Dunia, spokesman for refugees at the camp that has been set up in Isipingo Beach, south of Durban.

Another foreigner, a Zimbabwean who is renting a flat in the CBD, said he was aware of the message. "Even my neighbours in my complex, who are South Africans, have been coming to say, 'Wednesday we are going to attack all foreigners because the king said you must be out of the country'. One even told me, 'that flat is going to be mine'."

Anglican Church Bishop Rubin Phillip and Methodist Church Bishop Mike Vorster led a fact-finding mission to the camp that has become a safe haven for victims of recent

xenophobic attacks in Isipingo, Malukazi and Umlazi.

Vorster said even though the alert could be just a rumour, it should not be dismissed outright.

There were differing reports as to what sparked the violence which started on March 30. City officials told the clergymen it started after a labour protest by South Africans who then turned their anger on foreigners. But locals blamed Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, saying the attackers said the king had given an order that foreigners should be deported.

eThekweni official Bheki Mngwengwe, who is assigned to look after the Isipingo camp, said the threat would be reported to the National Intelligent Agency. "They (the agency) were here just now. As soon as they come back we will inform them about this," he said.

Before the violence in Durban erupted, the king told a moral regeneration gathering in Pongola last month that the foreigners should leave the country.

Vorster said the Diakonia Council of Churches was seeking a meeting with the king to understand what his statement meant. "I would like to ask him to clarify what he said. We would like to meet the king, but certainly there is a protocol that would need to be followed.

"We would like to explore that and see if we can have an audience with the king...."

Phillip said leaders should speak responsibly about foreign nationals. "They (leaders) have to watch their words because if the leader says anything against or about the foreign nations that is negative, then people might use that to attack foreign nationals," he said. Whether the leader was a politician, church leader or king, they should choose their words carefully, he added.

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The Mercury (South **Africa**)

**April 06, 2015 Monday**

**E1 Edition**

## KZN looking into lot of **foreigners**

BYLINE: Bongani **Hans**

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. **3**

LENGTH: 441 **words**

The provincial government has placed the latest **xenophobic attacks** in Durban at the top of its agenda, with the provincial executive council describing the acts as inhumane.

During its meeting in Pietermaritzburg last week, it stopped short of censoring **Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini**, saying it had reflected on the link made between what he had reportedly said and the acts of **xenophobia** in the **province**.

The attacks in Isipingo, Malukazi and Umlazi, south of Durban, forced hundreds to flee to a police station after they were attacked in their homes and shops.

"In this regard, the executive council reaffirms its belief in the spirit of shared humanity as central to contemporary global meaning of human rights and development," read a statement from Premier Senzo Mchunu's office.

"It expresses its mindfulness of the challenges facing our country, especially poverty, unemployment and inequality."

During its meeting, the provincial government discussed various matters affecting KwaZulu-Natal, with **xenophobia** on top of the agenda.

It suggested that there should be a dialogue on the matter which would involve all citizens with an aim of finding a solution.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi visited the displaced **foreigners** at the Isipingo police station on Saturday.

Lingered

He defended the king against reports that the attacks followed the king's calls for foreigners to leave the country.

Buthelezi said King Zwelithini was referring to foreigners who were involved in drug trafficking and in crime.

He said his visit had been prompted after he had seen television footage of a shocked woman who had run away from Isipingo while carrying an injured toddler.

Buthelezi said the image lingered in his mind.

"Most of our neighbouring countries accommodated our politicians during the struggle. They were always with us and were not cruel to us. They did not discriminate against us and ask what we were doing in their countries," Buthelezi said.

During a moral regeneration rally in Pongola late last month, the king allegedly said that foreigners should leave the country because they were destroying its culture.

Early this month, while addressing another gathering in Nongoma, he said he would not

back down on his call. But this time he emphasised the illegal immigrants and called on the Swaziland government to stop illegal immigrants from using their country as a route into South Africa.

The Human Rights Commission has said it will investigate the king's statement to establish whether it was tantamount to xenophobia.

Former Royal Household Trust chairman Judge Jerome Ngwenya denied that the king had called for the deportation of foreigners.

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Sunday Times (South Africa)

April 5, 2015 Sunday

MainBody Edition

**Row over king's 'foreigners' jibe amid frenzy of looting, killings**

**BYLINE:** NATHI OLIFANT

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH: 788 words**

Row over king's 'foreigners' jibe amid frenzy of looting, killings

President's son Edward also being investigated for 'time bomb' remarks in support of Zwelithini

It was the Zulu king who started this. He said the foreigners should go

FOR a moment Salima Mkeyo thought the rhythmic chanting was a group of jolly school children passing by on a quiet Monday morning.

As the voices grew louder, she picked up her one-year-old son, Byeve Abdoul, and walked out of her spaza shop to investigate.

But before she could make sense of anything, a rock hit the child's head. "I thought my baby was going to die. He was bleeding profusely," said Mkeyo.

She soon realised that her family and neighbours - a community in Isipingo, south of Durban, of Congolese, Tanzanians, Mozambicans, Malawians and Ethiopians - were under attack.

A lot of what happened in that frenzied moment remains a blur, but she vividly remembers the provocative chant of the mob: "Awahambe amakwerekwere ... inkosi ithe awabuyele emuva." (Foreigners must leave ... the king said they should return home.)

Amakwerekwere is a derogatory term for foreigners.

The attack came a few days after King Goodwill Zwelithini made explosive xenophobic comments at a public meeting, urging the government to expel the foreigners.

He has since denied making the statements.

However, in a recording of Zwelithini, made at a moral regeneration event in Pongola a fortnight ago, he can clearly be heard saying: "We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their countries," as his audience cheers.

Mkeyo and hundreds of other displaced foreign nationals told of "the worst week" of their lives after they were forced to flee to the Isipingo police station.

Daniel Dunia, spokesman for the group, said a taxi full of local residents brandishing bush knives, machetes, sticks and bricks went from house to house attacking foreigners and looting their businesses.

The attack, said Dunia, seemed like a co-ordinated operation, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of violence.

"It's the Zulu king who started this," Dunia said. "There were no attacks on us before he spoke. He is responsible for this.

"It was a systematic attack. They chanted songs like 'Awahambe amakwerekwere'."

Congolese couple Coco Bishogo and Kasai Ruvunga, who run a salon, said they had spent four days at the local police station with their two children, aged six and four.

"They have not been to school since Monday. I was shocked when I heard the king has ordered the attack on us. We have always viewed him as a father, but now we are facing the consequences of his careless utterances," said Bishogo, who has lived here for 12 years.

The refugees complained that the police station did not have adequate sanitation and ablution facilities.

"Many of us have not bathed since Monday," said Mkeyo.

Government officials scrambled to resolve the escalating crisis, and on Thursday moved them

from the police station to the Isipingo Beach Sport Grounds, and provided tents for shelter.

However, tempers had flared among the foreigners on Thursday when immigration officials demanded a list of all those who had been displaced.

Some refugees complained that their documents had been left behind when they fled.

Zwelithini, meanwhile, speaking through the Royal Household Trust, denied making the comments. He blamed the media for "misquoting" him

The victims of the latest attack have lodged a complaint with the South African Human Rights Commission.

Commission spokesman Isaac Mangena said an investigation into the king's comments was still under way. The SAHRC had received a copy of the Zwelithini recording during the week.

Last week, the commission received two further complaints.

Mangena also revealed that President Jacob Zuma's son Edward was being investigated for comments allegedly made in support of King Goodwill.

"We received one complaint about [Edward's] comments this week. We now have the two investigations running," said Mangena.

The president's son reportedly told News24.com: "We need to be aware that as a country we are sitting on a ticking time bomb of them [foreigners] taking over the country. We can't rule out the possibility of a coup in the future."

Yesterday, Edward said he would not apologise: "I am not going to withdraw my comments." Asked about the SAHRC investigation, he said: "What probe?"

Yesterday, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, visited the foreigners at the sports grounds.

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**HOMELESS:** Foreigners, many of them Congolese, have gathered at the Isipingo police station

**SHELTER FROM THE STORM:** Victims of Monday's xenophobic attacks - like Alex Ombre, feeding his son, Joseph - now face an uncertain future Pictures: THULI DLAMINI

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**LANGUAGE:** ENGLISH

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Copyright 2015 Independent Newspapers Pty (Ltd)

Sunday Tribune (South Africa)

April 05, 2015

E1 Edition

## I came for a better life, not madness

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 535 words

The desperate cries of a young child can be heard across a transit camp hastily established near Isipingo.

They're a haunting reminder that within this tented environment, fear and isolation are part of an unfolding human tragedy marked by xenophobia and violence.

The camp has been set up to secure the safety of 240 displaced foreigners, whose hopes for a new beginning in Kwa-Zulu-Natal have been dashed.

Attacked in Isipingo this week, they sought refuge at the local police station. Then they were moved to the camp.

Angry locals claimed the foreigners were taking their jobs and involved in crime.

The foreigners say they had to leave their countries and were simply looking for a better way of life for their families.

Adding fuel to the fire, according to some, was King Goodwill Zwelithini suggesting recently that foreigners involved in crime should be deported.

Fed

Social Development MEC Weziwe Thusi said the camp's location was being kept secret to avoid further violence.

She said the foreigners were being housed in two large marquees, one for men and the other for women.

"They will be provided with three meals a day, with food donated by volunteer organisations," she said, adding that the plan was to eventually send the foreigners back to the community.

"Meanwhile, we need to engage local communities and ensure the reintegration of the foreigners is peaceful."

She said the Department of Home Affairs had already started a process of verifying documents.

The situation reached a climax on Monday when local workers accused businesses in Isipingo of hiring foreigners to replace local workers involved in industrial action and wage disputes.

Ethekwini deputy city manager of community and emergency services Musa Gumede confirmed workers in the Isipingo area were



upset that foreigners undermined their job security.

It is understood that the aggrieved locals were engaged in continuing industrial action over wages when businesses started using foreigners to replace those taking part in the strikes.

Steven Pillay, human resources manager of Jeena Wholesalers, one of the companies accused of hiring foreigners, said that the rumours that they were hiring foreigners were not true.

"All I can confirm is that there is a court order against the union representing the workers. This is as a result of threats against customers and workers who did not take part in the action."

But the real human drama is in the camp.

An asylum seeker, Kabango Hussein Ocean, 29, from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), said he was hit on the head with an iron rod while working at his family's hair salon in Isipingo.

"I had to run for my life. People screamed at me 'go back to your country - even the king says voetsak'."

Ocean says he has legal documents that allow him to stay.

Trying to comfort her crying child, Adibisho Seza Oliver, a 29-year-old mother from the Kivu province of the DRC, said: "I came here to live a better life. I did not expect this madness."

Religious leaders and politicians have been hard at work trying to prevent any further flare-ups.

SAPS spokesman, Major Thulani Zwane, said the situation was under control with mobile units set up to patrol the area and ensure the safety of all concerned.

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**Daily  
Dispatch**

Daily Dispatch (South Africa)

April 4, 2015 Saturday

saturday dispatch Edition



## To return is to die

**BYLINE:** Ray Hartle

**SECTION:** OPINION & EDITORIAL

**LENGTH:** 353 words

BEING exiled is not an easy choice. Consider the case of Elizabeth\*.

She was forced to flee the relative comfort of her home in a country in the Great Lakes region in the middle of the night with her three children, after her shopkeeper husband was brutally killed in an army operation in their village.

They walked for weeks on end, eventually ending up in a refugee camp in a neighbouring country.

Elizabeth left her children in the care of her mother-in-law and made the arduous journey to South Africa, where she obtained refugee status and now does domestic work.

She may be able to apply for permanent residence status in a couple of years, but fears approaching the Department of Home Affairs in case her application is declined and she is repatriated to her "home" country.

She has no guarantee that her children can join her if her permanent residency is confirmed after five years.

More recently, she has been seriously ill and, while receiving treatment from a hospital, her

concerns have grown about ever having a "normal" life with her family. Her lifestyle is extremely modest. She tries to save almost all she earns to repatriate to her family, that she has not seen in many years and with whom she stays in touch when she is able to set money aside for a long distance phone call.

She exists on the periphery of her bustling adopted city, hoping never to attract the attention of hate-filled South Africans who lack respect for the law or the communitarian idea of ubuntu we claim to hold dear. She is permanently heartbroken, but masks the pain of exile and the separation from her loved ones behind a wide smile.

Why would Elizabeth and thousands of other such African foreigners continue to stay in this unwelcoming nation, rather than return to refugee camps on the borders of their home country, or even to a life of subjugation in their places of birth? A decision to return to horrific former conditions may signal that one has relinquished all hope of salvaging life for oneself and one's children. - Ray Hartle

\* Elizabeth is not her real name. The sketchy details are to protect her identity

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All Rights **Reserved****Daily  
Dispatch**Daily Dispatch (South **Africa**)**April 4, 2015 Saturday**saturday dispatch **Edition****The faith response****BYLINE:** Ray **Hartle****SECTION:** **OPINION & EDITORIAL****LENGTH:** 213 **words**

ALL South Africans have a role in redefining how our country responds to African foreign nationals. In simple ways, ordinary South Africans can take a stand against xenophobic racism - the violent words fellow citizens spout and the actions that follow.

Faith communities have a particular imperative to hold and promote positive attitudes towards "others". The teachings of all our major religions - from the Christian Bible and the Muslim Koran to the Jewish Torah and the Hindu Upanishads - exhort us to welcome the stranger.

For Christians at Easter, it is apposite to reflect on how, shortly after his birth, Jesus was taken into exile in Egypt by his parents to escape the

persecution of Herod. The Jews were an exiled people. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) made humanitarian outreach to refugees a key part of his own exile in Medina.

We can open our hearts, homes and communities to receiving and welcoming foreigners, hearing their stories and assisting in their settlement into a new environment.

The defining texts of our respective faiths establish this obligation. Our common humanity demands this response. - Ray Hartle

ONTROVERSIAL: King Goodwill Zwelithini is being probed by the Human Rights Commission about his alleged comments about foreign nationals

**LOAD-DATE:** April 7, **2015****LANGUAGE:** **ENGLISH****PUBLICATION-TYPE:** **Newspaper****JOURNAL-CODE:** Daily **Dispatch**

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Daily Dispatch (South Africa)

April 4, 2015 Saturday

saturday dispatch Edition

Generally stinking attitude  
towards foreign Africans

BYLINE: Ray Hartle

SECTION: OPINION &amp; EDITORIAL

LENGTH: 1308 words

By

IN A former era, Natal was regarded as the last outpost of the British Empire. Outrageous comments reportedly made by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and supported by President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, that foreigners - read African foreign nationals - should pack up and go back home, suggest KwaZulu-Natal aspires to be a separate enclave where racism and xenophobia are promoted at the expense of constitutional values.

Zwelithini, speaking recently at an official event in KZN which was also attended by Minister of Police Nathi Nhleko, reportedly said: "We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries. The fact that there were countries that played a role in the

country's struggle for liberation should not be used as an excuse to create a situation where foreigners are allowed to inconvenience locals."

God forbid that South Africans should be inconvenienced by the horrors experienced by humanity in other parts of the world.

The chairman of the Royal Household Trust which manages Zwelithini's affairs, Judge Jerome Ngwenya, has suggested the king was quoted out of context or the comments were fabricated. But Edward Zuma subsequently echoed this view in an interview, saying South Africa was sitting on a ticking time bomb with the prospect of foreigners taking over the country.

Meanwhile human rights activists in Durban this week predicted a black Easter for foreigners as violence flared in various communities.

Government's silence on the matter is astounding, but fits in with its abject failure to apply the law to protect the rights of all foreigners, and to hold South Africans accountable to a vision of a society that welcomes the "other" or the stranger in our midst.

Given our racialised past under colonial administrations and the National Party, and the parlous efforts of the ANC-in-government to ditch "othering" or entrench a non-racial consciousness, it is perhaps not surprising that the presence of foreign nationals has been such a fraught issue.

In the past two decades African foreign nationals - many of them refugees from horrific wars - have relocated to South Africa in the hope of finding refuge from anti-democratic forces or economic ruptures in their home countries.

They have found, instead, a hostile destination where xenophobia thrives, one in which black, poor foreigners are arguably treated worse than black South Africans were at the height of apartheid. We South Africans should be ashamed of ourselves and our countrymen.

There is a wrong perception propagated by local politicians and bureaucrats - and now seemingly the king of the Zulus - that huge numbers of foreign nationals live among us. In reality, African foreign nationals make up a miniscule percentage of our total population.

The notion of many millions of (especially illegal) African foreigners inside our borders is a figment of a racist mind-set. Census 2011 set the country's population at 51.7 million, of which only about 1.4-million or 2.7% were foreigners of every conceivable nationality.

According to the UN High Commission for Refugees and based on Department of Home Affairs 2013 figures, there are some 65000 recognised refugees in South Africa, with another 230000 asylum-seekers awaiting decisions from the department on their status.

These relatively small figures belie the significance given to the presence of African foreign nationals in the imaginations of many South Africans, as reflected in media reports and tavern or braaivleis conversations. These allege that vast numbers are flooding into our country from elsewhere in Africa.

We, of course, also choose to ignore the historical backdrop of refugees "flooding" into South Africa over the past almost 500 years.

If Zwelithini has been correctly reported then he has continued to project enduringly

stereotypical imagery of hard-done-by locals having to compete almost unfairly against African foreigners who live high on the hog in our country.

But the reality for most African foreigners seeking refuge here is that they have not willingly given up their homelands. Instead, the range of oppressive circumstances have often been so acute that these pitifully vulnerable souls have little option but to endure struggling to subsist in an environment which - on paper at least - offers comparatively better chances for their basic survival.

But they live here hugging the shadows to avoid the hatred of locals, continually having to affirm their legality to the authorities, while trying to eke out a living.

Not all foreigners are uniformly victimised however, and the recent comments play into the racist rejection of dark-skinned, foreign language-speakers or impecunious foreigners.

Skilled and professional whites of British, European and North American descent occupying the middle and upper classes in South Africa do not experience xenophobia in this manner at all. On the contrary, we welcome their contributions to the local economy which, through various taxes end up in the fiscus which eventually keeps people like Zwelithini and his large royal household, and President Zuma's extended household, in clover.

Our constitution is a global benchmark of how rights should be protected for all in our country - both citizens and foreigners. We are also a signatory to international conventions on refugee rights.

Our law states emphatically that no person may be refused entry to South Africa, or expelled or extradited, or returned to any other country if they have a well-founded fear of being subjected to persecution or their physical safety is threatened.

The law does not protect foreigners who commit crimes in South Africa, but it certainly does not provide a basis for tarring **asylum seekers, refugees** and permanent residents with the same brush - as we are wont to do.

As a result of our law's failure to address so-called "hate crimes" motivated by prejudice, comments like those we have recently heard are likely to easily escape censure. And it is noteworthy that the South African state has no official definition of xenophobia. As a result, xenophobia is not a crime in our law, and neither the police nor the National Prosecuting Authority are able to bring a case of xenophobia before the courts.

The national Department of Home Affairs, a key implementing agent of government's strategy on issues relating to foreign nationals, including **refugees** and responses to xenophobia, has failed miserably to address the plight of African foreigners within our borders.

Tracking the department's annual reports to date shows absolutely no programme to deal with **xenophobia** or its policy response - community cohesion - despite a special unit on the issue being set up 10 years ago.

The paltry efforts to deal effectively with the racism inherent in xenophobic violence and hateful utterances can be traced to these lacunae. But having good laws and applying them is one thing. The more important issue to address is the general attitude of most South Africans towards African foreign nationals.

The absence of criticism of Zwelithini's alleged comments - outside of the DA, groups representing foreigners and the Human Rights Commission probe - is deafening. Together with the support for Zwelithini on news sites, it points to a complicity between locals and the state about hate speech and xenophobic behaviour.

It is time our country's hatred of African foreign nationals is stopped. Our actions and our words thus far have been largely despicable. We have no place to be engaging with the world - as businesspeople in London, tourists in Thailand, rugby spectators in Australia, or as politicians at the United Nations - until we end the horror heaped on African foreigners here at home.

WAR VICTIMS: Somali nationals flee an al-Shabaab attack last week

PRESIDENT'S SON: Edward Zuma

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The New Age (South **Africa**)

**April 2, 2015 Thursday**

## **City to shelter 200 displaced Congolese**

**BYLINE: MHLABUNZIMA MEMELA**

**LENGTH: 281 words**

A GROUP of Congolese nationals have sought refuge at the Isipingo police station after being attacked by locals who demanded that they return to their home countries.

The attackers claimed they were acting on a mandate from Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini calling on foreign nationals to return to their homes because they were perpetuating crime in South Africa.

The king has denied this, accusing the media of distorting his remarks, which he says were targeted at criminals.

Yesterday about 200 refugees were at the police station when the eThekweni municipality mayor, James Nxumalo, visited them.

Nxumalo promised that the city would do everything in its power to protect the foreign nationals.

He said they would be moved from the police station to a temporary shelter at Merebank, south of Durban.

"We are going to provide two marquees to house people while looking for a better place for them. We have engaged with the representatives but the situation is not pleasing at all," he said.

The mayor said they were not encouraging the displaced people to go back to their rented houses and businesses as the situation remained unsafe.

"We have managed to identify a safe place for them to stay while we are engaging all stakeholders," he said.

"We will also ensure that they receive basic services as well as food. We had to secure alternative accommodation for them."

Ozz Cheample, one of the displaced foreign nationals, denied that they were responsible for crime.

"We have hair salons and we are supported by South Africans," Cheample said.

"On Monday there were people who suddenly came out of nowhere and attacked us, telling us to go back to our country."

news@thenewage.co.za

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 2, 2015 Thursday

**OFFICIALS OVERWHELMED BY  
DISPLACED FOREIGNERS**

**BYLINE:** Chris Makhaye

**SECTION:** HUMAN INTEREST

**LENGTH:** 511 words

Victims sheltered at packed police station

TOP KwaZulu-Natal government officials and chiefs were yesterday struggling to find accommodation for scores of people displaced by xenophobic violence in the province.

More than 350 people have sought refuge from the Isiphingo police station after fleeing violent attacks in the township near Durban.

Police struggled to carry out their normal duties due to congestion at the station.

Mobs of looters went on the rampage on Monday, looting and assaulting foreign nationals, claiming they were following orders from Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

This was after the monarch allegedly called on foreign nationals to leave the country in a public address two weeks ago.

The SA Human Rights Commission has instituted an inquiry into Zwelithini's remarks.

Yesterday, a meeting between KZN MEC for community safety and liaison Willies Mchunu, eThekweni mayor James Nxumalo, police, residents and representatives of foreign nationals lasted for hours.



The meeting was aimed at finding alternative accommodation for the foreigners - including infants, school children and women.

Mchunu's spokesman Kwanele Ncalane said they were doing everything possible to curb the xenophobic attacks and ensure that it was safe for foreigners to return to their homes.

Yesterday, the chairman of the Ingonyama Trust Board, Judge Jerome Ngwenya, distanced Zwelithini from the looting and violence. "The king believes that what is happening in Isipingo and other areas is wrong and he strongly condemns it," said Ngwenya. "There is nowhere during his speech where the king say people must go about looting and assaulting foreign people."

He said Zwelithini only said that "those foreign nationals who are in the country illegally, and who are committing crimes, must go back to their countries".

Sowetan has learnt from residents that the violence was sparked by the firing of hundreds of striking workers from a local factory.

The anger was triggered after owners of the wholesale replaced the striking workers with foreigners.

Kwenza Msomi, who sells herbal medicines not far from the wholesale and who saw the attacks from the beginning, said the striking workers said they could not just walk away from their jobs and be replaced by the foreigners.

"They started singing and agitating against the wholesale security staff. Other people soon joined in and foreign-owned shops, salons and other businesses came under attack," she said.

"I saw many foreigners fleeing for their dear lives. Even those who were hired to work in the supermarkets were escorted by the police as people wanted to kill them," he said.

A man in his 20s who identified himself as Themba, said he had participated in the attack against foreigners.

"When we go to look for work we don't get it but these foreigners go to their home countries and bring in their brothers and sisters to take our jobs.

"We are saying enough is enough. Even the king is saying these people must go back to their countries so that we can get back our jobs."

NOT ME: Goodwill Zwelithini

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## Vital to keep skills within SA - Gigaba;

### Managing migration is crucial; he decries attacks on foreigners

**BYLINE:** Goitsehang Tlhabye

**SECTION:** NEWS; Pg. 3

**LENGTH:** 612 words

WITH South Africa still struggling to bridge the gap of core critical skills needed to boost the economy, the Department of Home Affairs is convinced that waiting for decades for the country to catch up will rob South African children.

Speaking at the department's fourth and final international migration policy roundtable discussions, minister Malusi Gigaba said it was important for South Africa to manage international migration properly to better harness the desperately needed skills.

The discussions were held at the CSIR convention centre yesterday under the theme: "Strengthening national capacity to manage international migration in South Africa".

Gigaba said: "If you look at our health science students, dentists, pharmacists and doctors; they get attracted to England and other European countries. We need to be able to have a balanced approach as we cannot say to them they can't leave the country as it's their right and they will do so. But for each skill that we lose to another country, it creates a gap here. This cannot be filled through our own wishes, so we need to go out and recruit skills elsewhere and ensure we plug the gap.

"We know we don't have enough maths and science teachers, so what do we do? What do we say to our children? That it's okay, they don't have to learn maths and science because we don't have teachers and that one day, when we do have enough teachers 20 years down the line, then it will be their turn? We can't do that," said Gigaba.

Even though South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadt) spokeswoman Nomusa Cembu agreed that there was a shortfall that needed to be addressed, she also stressed the need to prioritise training South African teachers in the process.

Cembu said numerous schools in South Africa had already been making use of foreign nationals but that the new policy should go further in regulating those recruited skills.

Some of the concerns raised by various stakeholders present included the need to address the financial implications that will come with the policy, the need for legislation to be put in place to serve as a deterrent to xenophobic attacks, and public awareness to involve foreigners in social cohesion.

Home Affairs chief operating officer Thulani Mavuso urged stakeholders to consider abuses of current legislation and how to prevent that. "I am disappointed that no one has yet dealt with abuses of refugee legislation by means of falsified information which means they are in the country under false pretences. This also means it becomes even more difficult to integrate immigrants into communities as they are viewed as illegal."

Gigaba also remarked that recent xenophobic attacks experienced needed to be dealt with as they hampered progress made on achieving social cohesion.

"Outbreaks of xenophobic attacks are being caused by largely irresponsible leaders who utter irresponsible statements and generate that feeling of resentment and end up creating a

sense that immigrants are a problem. This is even though these immigrants being attacked now have lived in those very communities for decades before without problems. Second is the criminal element. We have had these shops all along and suddenly you attack them for no good reason."

Gigaba cautioned South Africans to desist from associating all immigrants with crime. "If South Africa has a problem of crime then we need to say so. We must say to the police how are you dealing with crime? If we improve relations with our neighbouring countries to be able to share information such as fingerprints in cases where there is a crime scene and the fingerprints here

don't match any South African, we must be able to check elsewhere."

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**Sowetan**  
THE SOUL TRUTH

Sowetan (South Africa)

April 1, 2015 Wednesday

**Zwelithini's utterances spark mayhem**

**BYLINE:** Chris Makhaye

**SECTION:** HUMAN INTEREST

**LENGTH:** 317 words

SCORES of foreign nationals were yesterday still seeking refuge at the Isiphingo police station in KwaZulu-Natal after fleeing their homes in fear of attacks by locals.

This comes just a week after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call for all foreign nationals to be kicked out of the country.

His remarks are now the subject of a probe by the SA Human Rights Commission.

**Tensions** heightened on Monday after **locals** began singing amakwerekwere awahambe (foreigners must go back home) in different parts of Durban before attacking and looting foreign-owned businesses and homes.

**Pierre Kasongo**, one of the foreigners **who had sought refuge** at the police station yesterday, said many of **the people who attacked** them said they got permission to do so from Zwelithini.

"They said they don't want us here because their king had told them to chase us away because we **bring crime and all sorts of things** into the country," he said.

**Jasmin Rajah**, head of the Durban-based **Refugee Social Services**, said **many foreigners have also come to their offices to seek shelter and protection**.

"It seems like **many of these people will need accommodation** as they are scared to return home because their property has been stolen; homes have been overrun by **xenophobic locals** and some have even been assaulted."

Rajah said the latest incidents were probably linked to Zwelithini's statements. "People must not make sweeping statements against **foreigners** because these spread, and before

you know **it innocent people are attacked and killed**."

**Shako Kuminga**, one of the leading **Congolese nationals** in Durban, said they have been inundated with calls for help from **Congolese and other foreign nationals**.

**Police spokesman Major Thulani Zwane** said although no one has yet been arrested, they were investigating several cases.

"We are keeping a close watch at these hotspots," Zwane said.

**CHOOSE YOUR WORDS: King Goodwill Zwelithini**

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**The Times**

The Times (South **Africa**)

**April 1, 2015 Wednesday**

## Zulu king: Attacks on foreigners not my fault

**BYLINE:** Matthew Savides; Taschica Pillay

**SECTION:** CRIME, LAW & JUSTICE

**LENGTH:** 330 words

ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini has distanced himself from attacks on foreigners in Durban over the past two days, saying they were the work of opportunists.

At a moral regeneration event in Pongola, northern KwaZulu-Natal, two weeks ago, Zwelithini allegedly said that the government should send foreigners back home - prompting an investigation by the Human Rights Commission.

Yesterday, Zwelithini, through the Royal Household Trust, denied making the comments. He said that the newspapers had "twisted" what he had said.

But, in the wake of the comments, foreigners - many of them Congolese small business owners - were stoned, stabbed and beaten in Isipingo, south of Durban. The attackers echoed Zwelithini's alleged comments during the violence, which started on Monday.

Trust chairman Judge Jerome Ngwenya said that Zwelithini departed from his written speech, and said in Zulu that the country's borders were weakly policed and so made the country a haven for illegal immigrants.

"He then urged the police to apply the law firmer [sic] and catch those who violate the

country's laws coming from outside and return them to whence they come. We find nothing offensive [about] this, nor anything xenophobic in it or about it," said Ngwenya.

But, according to a police officer, as many as 250 foreigners were camped at the station because they were scared of being killed.

Congolese mother-of-two Coco Bishogo who was chased out of her hair salon, said: "They said if we don't go, we shall remain here with dead people. I joined others and ran to the police station. I returned to my shop to find everything stolen."

She said they were concerned about the whereabouts of a fellow Congolese national, who was allegedly stabbed and bundled into a car yesterday morning.

Ngwenya said Zwelithini had heard about the violence.

"It is regretted that the unfortunate inaccurate reporting by the media is now being abused by some opportunists claiming it is the king's call," said Ngwenya.

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